MEMOIRS

OF THE

HOUSE OF MEDICI,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE DEATH OF FRANCESCO, THE SECOND GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY,

AND OF THE

GREAT MEN WHO FLOURISHED IN TUSCANY WITHIN THAT PERIOD.

From the FRENCH of M. TENHOVE,

WITH

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS,

BY SIR RICHARD CLAYTON, BART.

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LEO X.

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GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI, the son of Lorenzo "the "Father of the Muses," destined from his infancy for the Church, was pushed at once very far in his spiritual career, where fortune had such brilliant views for him. Archbishop at ten years of age, and a Cardinal at fourteen, he was the first example of these premature promotions.—His elevation was the more surprising, as Paul, the last predecessor but one of Innocent the VIIIth, the author of Giovanni's promotion, had issued an ordinance by which a Cardinal was to be above thirty years of age, and to be also a Professor of Theology.—The two youngest Cardinals on record are Odet de Chatillon, Bishop of Beauvais brother of the great Admiral Coligny, and the infant brother of Philip the

Giovanni de' Medici.

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IVth. The former was not eleven years of age, and the latter somewhat younger; but indeed Giovanni de' Medici might have been called, as the Cardinal de Bouillon was in his old age, "the Red Child."—Politiano addressed a letter to the Pope on the occasion, in which he informed him—that he was neither desirous of giving a full scope to his own affections and esteem for Giovanni, nor of flattering him on his choice, and that Florence would attest the truth of his sentiments—that the young man had been so well bred, and his happy dispositions had been so much cultivated, as to render him equal to his instructors in knowledge, and to persons of the maturest understandings in prudence—that he was distinguished by a natural candour without the mixture of any affectation whatever—that, so far from a licentious word having ever escaped him, not even an indecent or frivolous one could ever be laid to his charge—that the greatest malignity found nothing to criticise in his conduct or deportment—that the old saw in him the grandson of the great Cosmo, and the younger the son of Lorenzo—that the French King, from his celebrated character, had conferred on him an Archbishopric—and that for the dignity with which his Holiness had lately honoured him, he had the gratitude and blessings of the Florentines (*a*).——If

this

(*a*) "Non indulgebo amori meo, non judicio tuo blandiar, Pontifex: nota cunctis et testata loquar. Ita natus et factus, ita altus atque educatus, ita denique eruditus atque institutus hic est, ut nemini secundus ingenio, nec æqualibus industriâ, nec præceptoribus litteraturâ, neque gravitate senibus coucesserit; nativa in eo gra-

this elogium was what Giovanni really merited, and it is not stretched beyond its due bounds, prosperity, the dangerous poison of the human mind, had undoubtedly corrupted his early and his native goodness.—The young Cardinal was sent to Rome, and in a scarce collection of Letters of the thirteen "Uomini Illustri," there is one from his father Lorenzo to him, which has a demand on us for our warmest admiration, on account of its simplicity and great good sense.—In all probability the Apocryphal Varillas had heard confusedly of it, without having read or seen it. "Lorenzo's book, written on the model of Cicero's "Offices, for the young Cardinal his son," he observes, "had been unfortunately lost, which was to be seriously "lamented, as Lorenzo would have been an author of "high reputation, if his other greater qualities had not "rendered him more celebrated as the first person of the "age."

The lessons of such a father to such a son must be acceptable to every reader.

Lorenzo

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bitas et genuina, diligentiâ quoque parentis ita impensè culta est, ut ex illius ore non modo non verbum dictu fœdius, sed ne levius quidem unquam, aut etiam licentius exciderit; non actio, non gestus, non incessus in illo notatus, non aliud postremo quod in deteriorem partem conspiceretur. Sic in viridi ætate cana maturitas, ut qui loquentem senes audiunt, proavitam in eo, nos paternam indolem agnoscamus, &c. &c. et quoniam tale de se specimen dabat, compulsos famâ Ludovicus ille Francorum sapientissimus idemque sanctissimus rex, ne summo quidem Archiepiscopatus fastigio indignum hunc ipsum planè adhuc puerum est arbitratus. Illum tu igitur habes regem collatæ istius dignitatis prælusorem. Telam Rex maximus exorsus quam Pontifex maximus pertexeret; audires utinam voces fausta tibi nunc et prospera ominantis Florentini populi!"

Lorenzo de' Medici's Letter to him.

Lorenzo de' Medici,

To Giovanni de' Medici, Cardinal.

"You, and all of us who are interested in your wel-
"fare, ought to esteem ourselves highly favoured by Pro-
"vidence, not only for the many honours and benefits be-
"stowed on our House, but more particularly for having
"conferred upon us, in your person, the greatest dignity
"we have ever enjoyed. This favour, in itself so im-
"portant, is rendered still more so by the circumstances
"with which it is accompanied, and especially by the con-
"sideration of your youth, and of our situation in the
"world. The first thing that I would therefore suggest
"to you is, that you ought to be grateful to God, and
"continually to recollect that it is not through your me-
"rits, your prudence, or your solicitude, that this event
"has taken place, but through his favour, which you can
"only repay by a pious, chaste, and exemplary life; and
"that your obligations to the performance of these duties
"are so much the greater, as in your early years you have
"given some reasonable expectation that your riper age
"may produce such fruits. It would indeed be highly
"disgraceful, and as contrary to your duty as to my
"hopes, if at a time when others display a greater share
"of reason, and adopt a better mode of life, you should
"forget the precepts of your youth, and forsake the path
"in which you have hitherto trodden. Endeavour there-
"fore

" fore to alleviate the burthen of your early dignity by " the regularity of your life, and by your perseverance " in those studies which are suitable to your profession. " It gave me great satisfaction to learn, that, in the course " of the past year, you had frequently, of your own ac- " cord, gone to communion and confession; nor do I " conceive that there is any better way of obtaining the " favour of Heaven, than by habituating yourself to a " performance of these and similar duties. This appears " to me to be the most suitable and useful advice which, " in the first instance, I can possibly give you.

" I well know, that as you are now to reside at Rome, " that sink of all iniquity, the difficulty of conducting " yourself by these admonitions will be increased. The " influence of example is itself prevalent; but you will " probably meet with those who will particularly endea- " vour to corrupt and incite you to vice; because, as you " may yourself perceive, your early attainment to so great " a dignity is not observed without envy, and those who " could not prevent your receiving that honour will se- " cretly endeavour to diminish it, by inducing you to for- " feit the good estimation of the public; thereby precipi- " tating you into that gulf into which they have them- " selves fallen; in which attempt the consideration of " your youth will give them a confidence of success. " To these difficulties you ought to oppose yourself with " the greater firmness, as there is at present less virtue

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"amongst your brethren of the college. I acknowledge "indeed that several of them are good and learned men, "whose lives are exemplary, and whom I would recom- "mend to you as patterns of your conduct. By emu- "lating them you will be so much the more known and "esteemed, in proportion as your age, and the peculiarity "of your situation, will distinguish you from your col- "leagues. Avoid, however, as you would Scylla or Cha- "ribdis, the imputation of hypocrisy; guard against all "ostentation, either in your conduct or your discourse; "affect not austerity, nor even appear too serious. This "advice you will, I hope, in time understand and practise "better than I can express it.

"You are not unacquainted with the great importance "of the character which you have to sustain, for you well "know that all the Christian world would prosper if the "Cardinals were what they ought to be; because in such "a case there would always be a good Pope, upon which "the tranquillity of Christendom so materially depends. "Endeavour then to render yourself such, that if all the "rest resembled you, we might expect this universal bles- "sing. To give you particular directions as to your be- "haviour and conversation, would be a matter of no "small difficulty. I shall therefore only recommend, "that in your intercourse with the Cardinals, and other "men of rank, your language be unassuming and respect- "ful, guiding yourself however by your own reason, and "not

"not submitting to be impelled by the passions of others, "who, actuated by improper motives, may pervert the "use of their reason. Let it satisfy your conscience that "your conversation is without intentional offence; and "if, through impetuosity of temper, any one should be "offended, as his enmity is without just cause, so it will "not be very lasting. On this your first visit to Rome, "it will however be more adviseable for you to listen to "others than to speak much yourself.

"You are now devoted to God and the Church; on "which account you ought to aim at being a good eccle-"siastic, and to shew that you prefer the honour and state "of the Church and of the apostolic see to every other "consideration. Nor, while you keep this in view, will "it be difficult for you to favour your family, and your "native place. On the contrary, you should be the link "to bind this city closer to the Church, and our family "with the city; and although it be impossible to foresee "what accidents may happen, yet I doubt not but this "may be done with equal advantage to all; observing, "however, that you are always to prefer the interests of "the Church.

"You are not only the youngest Cardinal in the Col-"lege, but the youngest person that ever was raised to "that rank; and you ought therefore to be the most vi-"gilant and unassuming, not giving others occasion to wait

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"wait for you either in the chapel, the consistory, or "upon deputations. You will soon get a sufficient in-"sight into the manners of your brethren. With those "of less respectable character, converse not with too "much intimacy; not merely on account of the circum-"stance in itself, but for the sake of public opinion. Con-"verse on general topics with all. On public occasions "let your equipage and dress be rather below than above "mediocrity. A handsome house and a well-ordered fa-"mily will be preferable to a great retinue and a splendid "residence. Endeavour to live with regularity, and gra-"dually to bring your expences within those bounds "which in a new establishment cannot perhaps be ex-"pected. Silk and jewels are not suitable for persons in "your station. Your taste will be better shewn in the "acquisition of a few elegant remains of antiquity, or in "the collecting of handsome books, and by your atten-"dants being learned and well-bred rather than numerous. "Invite others to your house oftener than you receive in-"vitations. Practise neither too frequently. Let your "own food be plain, and take sufficient exercise, for those "who wear your habit are soon liable, without great cau-"tion, to contract infirmities. The station of a Cardinal "is not less secure than elevated; on which account those "who arrive at it too frequently become negligent, con-"ceiving that their object is attained, and that they can "preserve it with little trouble. This idea is often inju-"rious to the life and character of those who entertain it.

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" Be attentive therefore to your conduct, and confide in " others too little rather than too much. There is one " rule which I would recommend to your attention in " preference to all others: Rise early in the morning. " This will not only contribute to your health, but will " enable you to arrange and expedite the business of the " day; and as there are various duties incident to your " station, such as the performance of divine service, stu- " dying, giving audience, &c. you will find the obser- " vance of this admonition productive of the greatest uti- " lity. Another very necessary precaution, particularly " on your entrance into public life, is to deliberate every " evening on what you have to perform on the following " day, that you may not be unprepared for whatever " may happen. With respect to your speaking in the " consistory, it will be most becoming for you at present " to refer the matters in debate to the judgment of his " Holiness, alleging as a reason your own youth and in- " experience. You will probably be desired to intercede " for the favours of the Pope on particular occasions. " Be cautious however that you trouble him not too " often; for his temper leads him to be most liberal to " those who weary him least with their solicitations. This " you must observe, lest you should give him offence, " remembering also at times to converse with him on " more agreeable topics; and if you should be obliged " to request some kindness from him, let it be done " with

"with that modesty and humility which are so pleasing "to his disposition. Farewell (*a*)."

The

(*a*) " *Lorenzo de' Medici Padre.*
A Messer Giovanni de' Medici Card.

Mess. Giovanni: voi sete molto obbligato a Mess. Domenedio, e tutti noi per rispetto vostro, perchè oltra a molto benefici et honori, che ha ricevuti la casa nostra da lui, ha fatto che nella persona vostra veggiamo la maggior dignità, che fosse mai in casa; et ancora che la cosa sia per se grande, le circostantie le fanno assai maggiore, massime per l' età vostra et conditione nostra. Et però il primo mio ricordo è, chi vi sforziate esser grato a M. Domenedio, ricordandovi ad ogn' hora, che non i meriti vostri, prudentia o sollecitudine, ma mirabilmente esso Iddio v' ha fatto Cardinale, et da lui lo riconosciate, comprobando questa conditione con la vita vostra santa, esemplare et honesta, a che siete tanto più obbligato per havere voi già dato qualche opinione nella adolescentia vostra da poterne sperare tali frutti. Saria cosa molto vituperosa, et fuor del debito vostro et aspettatione mia, quando nel tempo, che gli altri sogliono acquistare più ragione et miglior forma di vita, voi dimenticaste il vostro buono instituto. Bisogna adunque, che vi sforziate alleggerire il peso della dignità, che portate, vivendo costumatamente, et perseverando nelli studi convenienti alla professione vostra. L' anno passato io presi grandissima consolatione, intendendo, che senza che alcuno ve lo ricordasse, da voi medesimo vi confessaste più volte et communicaste; nè credo, che ci sia miglior via a conservarsi nella gratia di Dio, che lo abituarsi in simili modi, et perseverarvi. Questo mi pare il più utile et conveniente ricordo che per lo primo vi posso dare. Conosco che andando voi a Roma, che è sentina di tutti i mali, entrate in maggior difficultà di faro quanto vi dico di sopra, perchè non solamente gli esempi muovono, ma non vi mancheranno particolari incitatori et corruttori, perchè, come voi potete intendere, la promotione vostra al Cardinalato per l' età vostra, et per le altre conditioni sopradette, arreca seco grande invidia, et quelli, che non hanno potuto impedire la perfetione di questa vostra dignità, s' ingegneranno sottilmente diminuirla, con denigrare l' opinione della vita vostra, et farvi sdrucciolare in quella stessa fossa, dove essi sono caduti, confidandosi molto debba lor riuscire per l' età vostra. Voi dovete tanto più opporvi a queste difficultà quanto nel Collegio hora si vede manco virtù: et io mi ricordo pure avere veduto in quel Collegio buon numero d' huomini dotti et buoni, e di santa vita: però è meglio seguire questi esempi, perchè facendolo, sarete tanto più conosciuto et stimato, quanto l' altrui conditioni vi distingueranno dagli altri. E' necessario che fuggiate, come Scilla et Cariddi, il nome della hipo-

The Cardinal de' Medici was included in his brother's exile, who employed him in some negotiations, where he

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crisia, et come la mala fama, et che usiate mediocrità sforzandovi in fatto fuggire tutte le cose, che offendono in dimostrazione, et in conversatione, non mostrando austerità, o troppa severita ; che sono cose, le quali col tempo intenderete et farete meglio a mia opinione, che non le posso esprimere. Voi intenderete di quanta importanza et esempio sia la persona d' un Cardinale, et che tutto il mondo starebbe bene se i Cardinali fussino come dovrebbono essere ; perciocchè farebbono sembre un buon Papa, onde nasce quasi il riposo di tutti i Christiani. Sforzatevi dunque d' essere tale voi, che quando gli altri fussin così fatti, se ne potesse aspettare questo bene universale. Et perchè non è maggior fatica, che conversar bene con diversi huomini, in questa parte vi posso mal dar ricordo, se non che v' ingegnate, che la conversatione vostra con gli Cardinali et altri huomini di conditione sia caritativa et senza offensione ; dico misurando ragionevolmente, et non secondo l' altrui passione, perchè molti volendo quello che non si dee, fanno della ragione ingiuria. Giustificate adunque la conscientia vostra in questo, che la conversatione vostra con ciascuno sia senza offensione ; questa mi pare la regola generale molto a proposito vostro, perchè quando la passione pur fa qualche inimico, come si partono questi tali senza ragione dall' amicitia, così qualche volta tornano facilmente. Credo per questa prima andata vostra a Roma sia bene adoperare più gli orecchi che la lingua. Hoggimai io vi ho dato del tutto a M. Domenedio, et a S. Chiesa ; onde è necessario, che diventiate un buono Ecclesiastico, et facciate ben capace ciascuno, che amate l' onore et stato di S. Chiesa, et della Sede Apostolica innanzi a tutte le cose del mondo, posponendo a questo ogni altro rispetto ; nè vi mancherà modo con questo riservo d' ajutare la città et la casa ; perchè per questa città fa l' unione della Chiesa, et voi dovete in ciò essere buona catena, et la casa ne va colla città. Et benchè non si possono vedere gli accidenti che verranno, così in general credo, che non ci habbiano a mancare modi di salvare, come si dice, la capra e i cavoli, tenendo fermo il vostro primo presupposto, che anteponiate la Chiesa ad ogni altra cosa. Voi siete il più giovane Cardinale non solo del Collegio, ma che fusse mai fatto infino a qui ; et però è necessario, che dove havete a concorrere con gli altri, siate il più sollecito, il più humile, senza farvi aspettare o in Cappella o in Concistoro o in Deputazione. Voi conoscerete presto gli più e gli meno accostumati. Con gli meno si vuol fuggire la conversatione molto intrinseca, non solamente per lo fatto in se, ma per l' opinione, a largo conversare con ciascheduno. Nelle pompe vostre loderò più presto stare di quà dal moderato che di là ; et più presto vorrei bella stalla et famiglia ordinata et polita, che ricca et pomposa. Ingegnatevi di vivere accostumatamente, riducendo a poco a poco le cose al termine, che per essere hora la fa-

he discovered great abilities, though without much success.—Having the honour to be disgraced by Alexander the VIth, he travelled into Germany, France, and the Low Countries, and returning into Italy by the way of Savoy, he was received and treated, with his cousin Giulio, by the Cardinal Giuliano de' Rovera, and these three illustrious exiles, which was very singular, all afterwards sat in the Papal Chair.—The Cardinal Giovanni, on the death of Piero de' Medici, became the head of the family, and

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miglia et il padron nuovo non si può. Gioje e seta in poche cose stanno bene a pari vostri. Più presto qualche gentilezza di cose antiche et belli libri, et più presto famiglia accostumata et dotta che grande. Convitar più spesso che andare a conviti, nè però superfluamente. Usate per la persona vostra cibi grossi, et fate assai esercitio; perchè in cotesti panni si viene presto in qualche infermità, chi non ci ha cura. Lo stato del Cardinale è non manco sicuro che grande; onde nasce che gli huomini si fanno negligenti, parendo loro haver conseguito assai, et poterlo mantenere con poca fatica, et questo nuoce spesso et alla conditione et alla vita, alla quale è necessario che abbiate grande avvertenza; et più presto pendiate nel fidarvi poco, che troppo. Una regola sopra l' altre vi conforto ad usare con tutta la sollecitudine vostra; et questa è di levarvi ogni mattina di buona hora, perchè oltra al conferir molto alla sanità, si pensa et espedisce tutte le faccende del giorno, et al grado che havete, havendo a dir l' ufficio, studiare, dare audientia ec. ve 'l trovarete molto utile. Un' altra cosa ancora è sommamente necessaria a un pari vostro, cioè pensare sempre, et massime in questi principii, la sera dinanzi, tutta quello che havete da fare il giorno seguente, acciocchè non vi venga cosa alcuna immeditata. Quanto al parlar vostro in Concistorio, credo sarà più costumatezza, et più laudabil modo in tutte le occorrenze, che vi si proporranno, riferirsi alla Santità di N. S. causando, che per essere voi giovane, et di poca esperientia, sia più ufficio vostro rimettervi alla S. S. et al sapientissimo giuditio di quella. Ragionevolmente voi sarete richiesto di parlare et intercedere appresso a N. S. per molte specialità. Ingegnatevi in questi principi di richiederlo manco potete, et dargliene poca molestia, che di sua natura il Papa è più grato a chi manco gli spezza gli orecchi. Questa parte mi pare da osservare per non lo infastidire; et così l' andargli innanzi con cose piacevoli, o pur quando accadesse, richiederlo con humiltà et modestia doverà sodisfargli più, et esser più secondo la natura sua. State sano; di Firenze."

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and he immediately adopted very different measures from those which his brother had obstinately pursued, and which had occasioned his ruin.—All his wishes centered in a recovery of the family influence at Florence, but he concealed them under the veil of the profoundest dissimulation, and put in motion all the prudence and all the art requisite, or likely to lead him with certainty, though imperceptibly, to the attainment of his object.—Appearing to be perfectly satisfied with his spiritual function, he received with the greatest affability and courtesy all the Florentines whose business or inclinations brought them to Rome, and even the most declared enemies of the Medici family met with the same flattering attention. It was his invariable rule to shew a general civility to every individual, whatever might be his rank, and he even condescended to court his inferiors, a sure method of rising afterwards to the level of his superiors. In a word, he made use of the ancient artifices of the Medici for the subjection of his fellow-citizens, and acquired both respect and authority by kindness and benevolence. Such a system of conduct naturally tended to destroy prejudices, and disarm resentment; but to arrive at the summit of his wishes favourable circumstances were to be waited for, and were still wanting.

Julius the IId.

Giuliano de' Rovera or Julius the IId, the old and haughty Pontiff so much decried on this side the Alpes, though the Italians have some reasons for respecting his

memory,

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memory, was inattentive to the sublimity of his station, and saw only in his spiritual power the means of increasing his temporal interests and dominions.—Originally he was a party to the league of Cambray, he then changed his political code, and conceived the vast project of forcing the Ultramontanes out of Italy.—Old age, which usually debilitates the corporeal vigour and cools the courage of impetuous youth, rendered him more enterprising, and he hastened the execution of his intended project in proportion as he approached his end.—An open rupture ensued with Louis the XIIth, and the most scandalous disputes.—The Father of the French paid no sort of respect whatever to a Pontiff who attempted to do him every injury.—Many of the Cardinals had been seduced to concur in the views of the French Monarch, who called a council by his own authority with the consent of the Florentines in the city of Pisa, which after fifteen years of hostility, had again returned under the Florentine government. The Cardinal of Volterra, brother of their Gonfalonier Soderini, flattered himself with the hopes of supplanting by these means Julius the IId, and from this moment Julius determined on the restoration of the Medici. He encouraged and bestowed his apostolical benediction on the noble citizen Prinzivalle della Stuffa in his conspiracy against the life of the Gonfalonier, and the attempt miscarrying, he proposed the Cardinal de' Medici as his legate, wherever he could give the most umbrage and uneasiness to the Florentines.

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His allies at that period were his Catholic Majesty and the Venetians.—At this critical conjuncture the battle of Ravenna was fought.—Gaston de Foix beat the combined army, but the pursuit was fatal to him, and the French dated even from this victory the loss of the Milanese. The Cardinal Legate de' Medici was in the engagement and remained for some time a prisoner, though he had the good fortune or address to escape afterwards out of the hands of the enemy.—Florence, which favoured at heart the French interests, had observed a very strict neutrality, of which it had reason to repent (*a*), for the Pope conceiving the moment to be favourable for the restoration of the Medici, the French King made no scruple of abandoning friends from whom he had not received the least assistance.—The combined Powers held a diet at Mantua, where the brothers Giovanni and Giuliano pleaded so efficaciously their cause and stated their restoration in such a light, as to convince the members of the assembly that the latter was very practicable (*b*).—Raymond de Cardonna the Viceroy of Naples marched with

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Battle of Ravenna.

(*a*) "Cominciavano a sentire i frutti della neutralità, usata improvidamente, et a conoscere non essere sufficiente presidio l'abbracciare la GIUSTITIA della causa, dove era mancata la prudentia" is the profound reflection of Guicciardini. *La Hist. d'Italia, lib.* 11. 312.

(*b*) "Trattossi nella medesima dieta d'assaltare i Fiorentini, facendone instanza in nome suo, et del Cardinale, Giuliano de' Medici, et propenendo facile la mutatione di quello stato per le divisioni de' Cittadini: perche molti desideravano il ritorno loro, et per occulto intendimento, che (secondo affermana) vi havevano con

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with an army into Tuscany, and insisted on the deposition of the Gonfalonier and the restoration of the Medici, at least in their private characters, as citizens (*c*).—Taken by surprise the Florentines agreed without hesitation to the second article, however dangerous it might be to their liberty, and refused the first. Cardonna then advanced, took the town of Prato by assault, and pillaged it. He continued, however, to negotiate, because he was in want both of money and provisions, and his master was less anxious than the Pope respecting the restoration of the Medici.—It has been believed, that if the Florentines had offered him a reasonable sum, he would have given up the enterprise, but the Gonfalonier indiscreetly spun out the correspondence.—His usual and boasted prudence here failed him when he had most occasion for them.—Whilst every thing floated in uncertainty, three young men devoted to the Medici resolutely went to the palace, and with their daggers at the Gonfalonier's throat forced him to an immediate resignation of his office (*d*).—His political reputation suffered by this unfortunate

Soderini, the Gonfalonier of Florence, obliged to resign his office.

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alcune persone nobili, et potenti, et perche i Fiorentini dissipata una parte de' loro huomini d'arme in Lombardia, un'altra parte rinchiusa in Brescia; non havevano forze sufficieti a difendersi contra uno assalto tanto repentino." *Guicciardini, lib.* 11. 313, 314.

(*c*) "Desiderare che i Medici potessero godere la Patria, non come capi del governo, ma come privati, et per vivere sotto le Leggi, et sotto i Magistrati, simili in tutte le cose a gli altri Cittadini." *Guicciardini, lib.* 11. 315.

(*d*) "Pagol Vettori, et Anton Francesco de gli Albizi giovanni nobili, seditiosi,

tunate event, but his greatness of soul was still invulnerable.—He retired at first to Ragusa, and in the succeeding Pontificate his generous rival received him most graciously at Rome, where he died some years afterwards.—His integrity was universally esteemed, and yet a caustic epitaph (*e*) was written on his death.

When the Gonfalonier was deposed, the agreement was soon signed.—The convention, however, which restored

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et cupidi di cose nuove, i qualli già molti mesi si erano occultamente congiurati con alcuni altri in favor de' Medici, ———— si risolverono di fare esperientia di cavar per forza il Gonfaloniere del palazzo pubblico: et comunicato il consiglio loro con Bartolomeo Valori giovane di simili conditioni, et implicato per lo troppo spendere, come era anco Pagolo in molti debiti, la mattina del secondo dì dalla perdita di Prato, che fù l'ultimo giorno d'Agosto, entrati con pochi compagni in palazzo, dove per lo Gonfaloniere, che s'era rimesso ad arbitrio del caso, e della Fortuna non era provisione, ne resistenza alcuna, et andati alla camera sua lo minacciarono di torgli la vita, se non si partiva del palazzo, dandogli in tal caso la fede de di salvarlo." *Guicciardini, lib.* 11. 117.

(*e*) "La notte che morì Pier Soderini,
L'alma n'andò dell' inferno alla bocca,
Ma Pluto gli gridò; anima sciocca!
Che? inferno? va nel limbo frà bambini.

Yet Machiavel has done justice to his good qualities. "Piero Soderini, procedeva in tutte le cose sue con umanità e pazienza. Prosperò egli e la sua patria mentre che i tempi furono conformi al modo del procedere suo; ma come vennero dipoi tempi, dove bisognava rompere la pazienza e l'umiltà, non lo seppe fare; talchè insieme con la sua patria rovinò." (*Machiavelli, tom.* 3. 297, 298.) As Cornelius Nepos has observed of Alcibiades he was the "affabilis, blandus," but the "temporibus callidissime inserviens" was wanting. In a calm and unruffled sea he was perfectly master of the political bark and qualified to be the pilot—in an outrageous ocean utterly unfit to steer it.

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restored the Medici did not stipulate any thing in their favour, and Florence flattering itself with the hopes of retaining its liberty, proceeded to the election of another Gonfalonier. The Medici appeared before the magistracy in deep mourning, and with ostensible humility requested an indemnity and oblivion for what was past. —It is thus that ambition sometimes stoops.—She condescends to taste of the cup of humiliation, in order to fill up that of servitude, and like the serpent presses the dust most forcibly, when springing from it with the greatest elasticity.—

"—— Omnia serviliter pro dominatione (*f*)."

The Medici restored—recover their authority.

Things were too far advanced to remain in such a situation.—If the Cardinal de' Medici had been one of the most moderate persons in the world, the restoration of the family must have appeared precarious to him without being rendered more complete.—The Viceroy paid little attention to the Republican form of government, and entered into the Cardinal's further views. At the head of a powerful detachment of the combined army, the two brothers entered a second time into Florence, and recovering the authority which the House of Medici had possessed before 1494, they exercised it in a more open and absolute manner (*g*). Julius

(*f*) *Tacit. His t. lib.* 1. *tom.* 3. 33.

(*g*) "Convocò subito, così proponendo Giuliano de' Medici, su la piazza del pa-

Julius the IId did not survive (*h*) this fresh revolution in the government of Florence, and the Conclave which followed was of short duration, for the young Cardinals had determined to elect a Pope out of their number, and they fixed unanimously on the Cardinal de' Medici. The member of the sacred college whose office it was to announce their choice made the following curious proclamation. "I have joyful news for you. We "have for Pope, Giovanni Cardinal de' Medici, who "has taken the name of Leo the Xth, and long live the "young! Vivano i Giovani!"

Giovanni de' Medici elected Pope, and takes the name of Leo the Xth.

The new Pontiff was only thirty-seven years of age, but the intelligence of his exaltation was received with universal

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lagio, col suono della campana grossa il popolo al parlamento, dove quelli che vi andarono, essendo circondati dall'arme de' soldati, et de' giovani della Città, che havevano prese l'armi per li Medici, consentirono che a circa cinquanta Cittadini, nominati secondo la volontà del Cardinale, fosse data sopra le cose pubbliche la medesima autorità che haveva tutto il popolo (chiamano i Florentini questa potestà cosi ampla Balia) per decreto de' quali ridotto il governo a quella forma, che so leva essere innanzi all'Anno 1494. et messa una guardia di soldati ferma al palagio ripigliarono i Medici quella medesima grandezza, ma governandola più imperiosamente, et con arbitrio più assoluto di quello, che soleva havere il padre loro."

Guicciardini, lib. 13. 318.

(*h*) "Principe d'animo, et di costanza inestimabile, ma impetuoso, et di concetti smisurati, per li quali che non precipitasse, lo sostonne più la riverenza della Chiesa, la discordia de' Prencipi, et la conditione de' tempi, che la moderatione, et la prudenza, degno certamente di somma gloria, se fosse stato Principe secolare, ò se quella cura, et intentione, che hebbe ad esaltare con l'arti della guerra, la Chiesa nella grandezza temporale, havesse havuta ad esaltarla con l'arti della pace nelle cose spirituali." *Guicciardini, lib.* 13. 325.

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universal applause, and under the reign of the son of Lorenzo de' Medici the Golden age was fondly expected to be revived. His coronation was attended with a pomp that Rome had not witnessed for many centuries, and instead of a litter covered with velvet and gold, supported by two mules, on which the preceding Popes had been usually carried, the young Pontiff mounted a beautiful barb richly caparisoned, which he had made use of at the battle of Ravenna.

Yet the flattering expectations of universal peace, which the election of the Cardinal de' Medici promised to produce, unfortunately were not realized. The Milanese subjects of Massimiliano Sforza wished for the return of the French their ancient masters, and Louis the XIIth took advantage of the conjuncture to form a league with Venice. He was more particularly desirous of securing the Pope and rendering him favourable to his views, as he had several motives to suspect his inclinations. Leo the Xth in fact dissembled, but he had not forgotten or forgiven the conduct of the French under Charles the VIIIth, and the personal neglect with which Louis himself had treated him in his exile.

The French King having sent an army into Italy, and re-conquered the Milanese, the Swiss, who were secretly incited by Leo, marched to the support of Massimiliano Sforza. The battle of Novarra changed the whole face of

Battle of Novarra.

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of affairs, and the French were obliged to retreat and repass the mountains.—The Holy Father, however, cautiously concealed the part he had acted, as he had occasion for the French monarch's assistance in extinguishing the schism, to which the church had been exposed by the pride and obstinacy of his predecessor. To influence him more effectually, he assured him, as soon as the spiritual obstacle was removed, he would openly espouse the French cause and its temporal interests.—Louis was duped by this artifice, and worked upon by the importunate assiduities of his Consort, who became more bigotted as she perceived her life drawing near its close, he renounced the council of Pisa, and prevailed on the refractory Cardinals to submit to their spiritual sovereign and receive his absolution.

The Pope, as soon as he had gained his Ecclesiastical object, returned with fresh vigilance to his temporal concerns and his former dissimulation.—All his address and art were indeed necessary in the conduct he had proposed to himself.—At the very instant when he wished to induce the French King to believe he was desirous of his success in the Milanese, he left nothing undone, and neglected no opportunity of throwing every obstacle that he could devise, in his way. When the French were not ready for the expedition he pressed it with all the eloquence and in the strongest language he was able;

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as they prepared for their march, he endeavoured to convince them that the aspect of things was changed—that they had let slip the favourable crisis—and that the attempt would be no longer practicable with any hopes of success.

Amidst these crooked manœuvres, the good old King died, and Francis the Ist succeeded to the crown. In all the warmth of youth, and full of ambition, he was not in the least disposed to wave his pretensions to the Milanese, and he re-doubled the necessary preparations for supporting his rights with vigour. Like his predecessor he knew how to estimate the value of an alliance with the Papal see, but Leo had hastily entered into a league with the Italian powers, for the defence of the Milanese, though he took care to insinuate to Francis the Ist, that it had not been a matter of choice but of necessity. Francis, even when he was on the point of entering Italy, was still in suspense respecting the Pope's intentions, who, sometimes lifting up a little of his mask, and sometimes wholly concealing himself under it, prevented as much as possible his real features from being seen.

The combined Powers had weakly flattered themselves they should have been able to defend the passages of the Alpes.—French impetuosity forced them, and the defeat

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of Prospero Colonna, a famous general of the Italian fashion (*a*), spread dismay and consternation through the whole country.—Soon afterwards an account of the battle of Marignan reached the Pope, which ensured the conquest of the Milanese, and he then thought in earnest it was high time to take care of himself.—He was less alarmed at the irruption that might be made into the Ecclesiastical states, than for some of the appendages of the Milanese, which were then in his possession, and the attempt the French might make to disturb the Medici at Florence.—Under these circumstances the crafty Pontiff offered every excuse to Francis that his fertile imagination suggested to him, and an agreement was immediately entered into. Its conditions might naturally be expected to be oppressive and severe, and he saw both Parma and Placentia extorted from him, though by a refinement in the science of political negotiation, he refused to cede either the one or the other, and simply agreed to evacuate them.

Interview between Leo the Xth, and Francis the Ist

An interview was proposed between the French Monarch and the Pope, and they met at Bologna with mutual protestations of sincerity and friendship. The two sovereigns

(*a*) Guicciardini has described the Italian mode of making war as an innocent and gaudy spectacle. "Già lungo tempo assuefatta a vedere guerre più presto belle di pompa, et di apparati, et quasi simili a spettacoli, che pericolose et sanguinose."
Guicciardini, lib. 1. 28.

sovereigns privately concerted an expedition against the Kingdom of Naples, and Leo promised as soon as he could exonerate himself from his engagements with Ferdinand to join his forces with the French troops, that were to be employed in the expedition. To this promise he added a favour, which was considered as the seal of this new alliance, the abolition of the ancient usage on the election to Ecclesiastical benefices and a grant to the French King of the right of proposing whoever he chose to fill the vacant abbeys and bishoprics, the Pope engaging to confirm his nomination by a Bull or Concordat. In return he had the satisfaction to receive a surrender of the Pragmatic sanction, which has been always a stumbling block for the See of Rome, as it established the authority of a council over the Pope, and abolished his title to the first-fruits, reversions, and expectancies of Ecclesiastical benefices.—The spiritual and temporal soveveigns were equally satisfied, and as the President de Thou has justly observed, the interests of the Church and France were only sacrificed.

We are assured the young Monarch and his Court were highly charmed by the Holy Father's grace and dignity at the altar, and Louisa of Savoy the mother of Francis, speaking of this interview in her journal, calls him "the Polite Apostle and Lieutenant of Jesus Christ," "Gentil Apôtre et Lieutenant de Jesus Christ."

Francis

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Francis left him with a perfect conviction of his sincerity, and was fully persuaded the Papal see would support his interests, but the artful Florentine had not been seduced, and he persisted in his wishes of recovering the Milanese and forcing the French again beyond the mountains. The French monarch's delusion was not indeed of long continuance, and several steps taken by the Pope rendered him again suspected.

Louis had taken under his protection Francesco Maria de la Rovera Duke of Urbino, and his intercessions in his favour to Leo had been fruitless, who had determined to strip the nephew of his ancient friend and benefactor, for as the Casuist Bellarmin has very properly remarked, " Papa est supra jus, contra jus, et extra jus."

The State of Urbino was in fact a very desirable acquisition to the House of Medici, as by its addition to the Florentine territories, they formed a little sovereignty which stretched from one sea to the other.—Leo having driven the Duke out of his dominions invested his own nephew Lorenzo the son of Piero de' Medici with them, but Rovera returning in force and seconded by his subjects again took possession of them.—The Pope vented his rage in threats and clamours, and applied to every court with as much eagerness and importunity, as if the infidels had invaded the Ecclesiastical states.—The Emperor Maximilian and Charles his grandson, the latter of

whom then held Burgundy, Castile, and Arragon, made a merit of assisting him, and Francis, reflecting on the danger of completely alienating his affections, sent him a reinforcement against his ancient ally. A closer and more intimate alliance then followed between the French Monarch and the Roman Pontiff, and the Duke of Urbino abandoned by all the Powers by whom he expected to have been supported, was under the necessity of giving up the unequal contest and submitting to his fate.

Conspiracy of the Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci.

Whilst the Holy Father was congratulating himself on the happy termination of these difficulties, a domestic conspiracy had nearly ruined him.—Alfonso Petrucci a son of the cunning tyrant of Sienna, and one of the young Cardinals who had joined in raising Leo to the pontifical throne, thinking he had been treated with ingratitude, by the Pope's concurrence in the expulsion of his family from Sienna, conceived the project of revenge. —He determined to give Christendom the first example of a Pope's assassination by a Cardinal, but finding the scheme too hazardous, he turned his thoughts towards the slower mode of poison.—The Pope's surgeon, who then attended him for a fistulous complaint was bribed, and many members of the sacred College had entered into the association. A letter was intercepted, which revealed the conspiracy, and Petrucci was arrested in the presence-chamber, conducted to the castle of St. Angelo, and there strangled with some of his colleagues. Others

were

were degraded, stripped of their Ecclesiastical dignities and their hats (*b*).

The number of Cardinals was not formerly determinate or fixed, and during the time of Nicholas the IIIrd, in 1277, they were only seven.—Under John the XXIId there were twenty.—The councils of Constance and Basle directed the number to be increased to thirty-four, but Leo by a stretch of the authority (*c*), which at Rome was never disputed in opposition to all the councils upon earth, added thirty-one, and according to Onufrio Panvini they were then about sixty-five.—Paul the IVth again added five, and Sixtus the Vth, considering the number of the elders of Israel, and of our Saviour's disciples to have been seventy, directed by an ordinance the number should be enlarged to seventy, at which it has remained.

Since the capture of Constantinople the Turks had always kept the Christians in a state of alarm, and their appre-

(*b*) The whole of the conspiracy traced through all its ramifications may be seen in Guicciardini, *Lib.* 13. 383, 384.

(*c*) This extraordinary promotion arose from the punishment and disgrace of many members of the sacred college on the late conspiracy. "Costrinse l'acerbità di questo caso il Pontefice a pensare alla creatione di nuovi Cardinali, conoscendo quasi tutto il Collegio per lo supplicio di questi, et per altre cagioni, havere l'animo alienissimo da lui, alla quale procedè tanto immoderatamente, che pronunciò in una mattina medesima in Concistoro, consentendo il Collegio per timore, et non per volontà, trent'uno Cardinali." *Guicciardini. lib.* 13. 384.

apprehensions or their fears rose and fell with the abilities of the reigning Sultan. The ambitious and fortunate Selim, flushed with the rage of conquest, had reduced under his subjection Persia, Syria, and the Mamalukes, attracted the eyes of the Christian Powers, and threatened their bulwarks of Rhodes and Hungary. Even Italy itself was not supposed to be entirely out of danger. Though there might have been some just reason for alarm, Leo undoubtedly magnified it, and there was a considerable share of ostentation in his subsequent measures. Circular briefs were addressed to all his Spiritual children, he pressed with a holy unction on them reasons which seemed to come from the very bowels of their common father, and he sent special legates to the Christian Princes, exhorting them to put an end to their private quarrels, and to rally and unite for the defence of their Faith, and the Cross of Christ.—The different Princes appeared to listen to his admonitions, and on every side real or pretended preparations were to be seen.—Leo was to have embarked at Ancona, and to have put himself at the head of the crusade, which, considered as a defensive one, would have been more rational than those pious enterprises which had been dictated by the mistaken zeal of the last centuries. Whether these preparations had been serious, or the different Sovereigns did not persist in their resolutions, or Selim's death threw a chill over the whole plan of operations, all these grand projects vanished in smoke.—Solyman, the son of Selim, became more formidable,

Leo the Xth projects a crusade.

midable, and if it had been necessary for the safety of Europe to have curbed the Ottoman Power, it had lost a favourable opportunity of trying the experiment.

It was on the occasion of this intended Crusade that Vida's Muse sketched out such a beautiful and romantic scene of imaginary triumphs.

" Jamque (*d*) illum Europæ reges, gensque omnis in unum,
Conversique oculos, conversique ora tenebant:
Jamque duces animis illum concordibus omnes
Velle sequi trepidos in Turcas arma parantem.
Illum quadrijugo invectum per mœnia curru,
Roma, triumphato vidisses protinus orbe:
Illum, Tybri pater, lætanti spumeus alveo
Exciperes, Tuscus Tuscum, veheresque per undas
Miratas habitusque novos, hominumque figuras.
Issent post currus capti longo ordine reges:
Oblitusque minas minor iret barbarus hostis,
Qui victis Solymis nunc, atque oriente subacto
Exultat fidens, orbisque affectat habenas
Efferus, atque Italæ jam jam, scelus! imminet oræ.
Visendi studio passim Romana juventus
Per fora, perque vias, festa discurreret urbe.
Ipse suos solio fulgens pater aureus alto
Aspiceret cives longo post tempore visos;

Barbaricumque

(*d*) *Vida Poet. lib.* 2. 581—600.

Barbaricumque aurum, prædæque juberet acervos
Sacratis adytis, penitusque alta arce reponi (*e*)."

This brilliant illusion was but the Poet's dream.—Heaven, which decides the fate of Kingdoms, had determined otherwise,

(*e*) " And, but malicious fortune stood between,
What golden days had rising Latium seen?
On him admiring Europe turns her eyes,
Sees where aloft the sacred banner flies;
Each chief prepar'd to summon from afar,
And lead th' impatient legions to the war.
Oh! had'st thou but beheld, imperial Rome,
Along thy streets the Reverend Hero come!
How had old Tyber borne with fond delight,
Adown his classic stream the hallow'd freight!
How had he smil'd of captive realms to see
The foreign garb, and awkward progeny!
How had the papal chariot dragg'd along,
Bound to its gorgeous wheels the scepter'd throng!
The haughty Sultan, and his impious host,
Should rule no more the Solymæan coast;
No more, in fond imagination see
The prostrate globe submissive bend the knee,
Move at his nod, and bow to his decree;
No more his troops, like locusts wafted o'er,
From their parch'd plains infest the Western shore.
To see the train the frequent youth shall join,
And pour through ev'ry street th' extended line.
High on his throne the sire, array'd in gold,
Once more th' adoring people should behold;
His treasures heap with rich Barbaric spoils,
Resplendent trophies of his glorious toils;
And thro' the solemn fanes religious pour,
With pious hand the consecrated store."

Hampson's Vida's Poetics, book 2, 823.

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otherwise, and instead of the Tiber receiving on his bosom in all the pomp and pride of victory twenty tributary Monarchs in chains, the water of "the King of "Streams" serves only to wash the band and the surplice!

By the death of Maximilian of Austria the Empire became vacant, and the two celebrated rivals Francis the Ist, and Charles the Vth, took every method to secure the Papal interest, which, though not decisive, was not to be slighted.—Leo's artful conduct did not contribute to serve either of them.—He flattered, but his whole finesse was exerted to exclude them both, and to turn the scale in favour of one of the electors. Yet he apparently gave Francis some external assistance, either because he saw less danger from an increase of his power, or because he knew his hopes were delusive, and not likely to be gratified. Maximilian's grandson succeeded. Leo, however, giving way where it was impossible to resist, approved of the coronation of Charles as King of the Romans, without stopping at the clause providing for the homage of the King of Naples to the See of Rome, and the express declaration that the Roman Crown and that of the Empire were incompatible.

Origin of the Reformation.

The origin of the Reformation may be deduced from Leo's Pontificate.—A little fermented leaven had been indeed a long time discernible.—Christianity had been both

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both heated and soured, and the flagrant enormities of the Church of Rome had already made an impression on every good heart and rational understanding.—It is not necessary to recur to the Histories of the Albigenses, J. Wickliff, Huss, or Jerome of Prague; their opinions, their actions, and their melancholy fates, have been recorded by almost all the authors of the age in which they lived. The vehemence also cannot be forgotten, with which many writers, who had no intentions of separating themselves from the Roman Communion, inveighed long before Leo's Pontificate against the vices of his predecessors.—A thousand instances might be produced, but it will be sufficient to appeal to the evidence of the two great Tuscan Poets, who wrote two centuries before Luther.

Dante, discovering Nicholas the IIId in his Inferno, takes the liberty of apostrophizing him in the following manner:

"Io (*a*) non so, s' i' mi fui qui troppo folle:
Ch' i' pur risposi lui, a questo metro,
Deh or mi dì quanto tesoro volle
Nostro Signore in prima da San Pietro,
Che ponesse le chiavi in sua balia?
Certo non chiese, se non, Viemmi dietro.
Nè Pier, nè gli altri chiesero a Mattia
Oro, o argento, quando fu sortito
Nel luogo, che perdè l' anima ria.

Però

(*a*) *Dante dell' Inferno, Cant.* 19. 88—123.

Però ti sta, che tu se' ben punito,
E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
. . . .
E se non fosse, ch' ancor lo mi vieta
La reverenzia delle somme chiavi,
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,
I' userei parole ancor più gravi;
Che la vostra avarizia il mondo attrista,
Calcando i buoni, e sollevando i pravi.
Di voi pastor s' accorse 'l Vangelista,
Quando colei, che siede sovra l'acque,
Puttanneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista:
Quella, che con le sette teste nacque,
E dalle diece corna ebbe argomento,
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque.
Fatto v' avete Dio d' oro e d' argento:
E che non altro è da voi all' idolatre,
Se non ch' egli uno, e voi n' orate cento?
Ahi Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote,
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre.
E mentre io gli cantava cotai note,
O ira, o coscienzia, che 'l mordesse,
Forte spingava, con ambo le piote.
I' credo ben, ch' al mio duca piacesse,
Con sì contenta labbia sempre attese
Lo suon delle parole vere espresse (*b*)."

Petrarch's

(*b*) " 'Say thou,' I cry'd, 'whose limbs suspended high,
Like flaming meteors mark the nether sky;
What horrid cause thy burning bust conceals?'

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Petrarch's invectives are still more violent, and in some scattered passages he compares the seat of the Holy Catholic Religion to a School of Error—a Temple of Heresy

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As a Confessor list'ning long I stood,
While the pale wretch protracts the tale of blood,
And from the falling axe a moment steals.
'Shame of the Papal Chair! and art thou come,
Hollow and dismal from the fiery tomb,
He cried—a later doom the Prophet told—
But, come, Seducer of the spouse of God,
Who rul'd the Christian world with iron rod,
Come! thine eternal revenues behold!'
As one, that hears the undistinguished sound
Of foul reproach his quick sensations wound,
Struck with the sad salute, amaz'd I stood!
'Explain, the Mantuan cry'd, his fond mistake,
No dire successor seeks the burning lake,
With other views you pass'd the penal flood.'
Prompt I obey'd, the troubled spirit heard,
And fiercer signs of doubled pain appear'd.
'Ah! why delude a tortur'd soul! he cry'd,
But if a strong desire my doom to know,
Led your advent'rous feet so far below,
Know, late I reign'd o'er Rome in mitred pride;'
'Orsini claims my blood—illustrious name!
To raise her honours thus I sunk to shame;
Unfriended, and unwept, but not alone:
Many a proud Prelate learns below to weep,
Above the fatal pass I'm doom'd to keep,
'Till Boniface forsakes the hallow'd throne.
I fondly thought my proud successor come,
Sent to supplant me in the fiery tomb;
Your salutation caus'd the sad mistake.
Fated alas! a longer time to weep,
And view with straining eye the nether deep,
Than He for whom he seeks the Stygian lake.

sy—a Sink of Corruption—another Babylon—a Hell upon Earth—where adultery is openly encouraged—where the young and the old, with Beelzebub in the midst of

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Soon haughty Boniface his vigil ends,
And Clement here with flaming feet descends
A darker soul! the painful seat to claim,
As Jason gain'd of old the Syrian Lord,
The Gallic Chief he plies with arts abhorr'd,
And soon the holy mantle hides his shame.'

He ceas'd, my fervent zeal o'ercame my fear,
And thus th' usurper of the hallow'd chair
In scorn I question'd, 'Say, when Jesus grac'd
The humble Fisher with the high command,
Did shining gold pollute his holy hand?
'Follow my footsteps,' was his sole request.

Or from his station when Iscariot fell,
Did Peter's voice the chosen Saint compel
To buy the empty seat for sums of gold?—
Now bid the Monarch dread his mitred foe;
Go, boast thy treasures to the Fiends below,
And how thy wolves destroy'd th' hallow'd fold.

And tho' the sanction of Orsino's name
Thy sacred office, and thy lineal fame
Forbids my tongue to use an harsher strain,
Yet ever be thy caitiff-soul pursu'd,
With the strong satire of the just and good,
Long, long oppress'd beneath thy hated reign.

Those sordid scenes the man of Patmos saw,
When he beheld the foul enchantress draw
The royal train to wear her bands abhorr'd,
With rapture on her lying charms to dwell,
And on her brow adore the stamp of Hell,
That brow, rebellious to her lawful Lord.

Go, seek your Saviour in the delved mine,
And bid th' idolater the palm resign;
Thine is a Legion, his a single God!—

CHAP. VII. of them, are equally immersed in the most infamous crimes; and he wishes Heaven, in its just vengeance, to blast it with its lightning (*c*).

Luther

Lamented ever be that lib'ral hand,
Whose gifts allur'd the Apostolic band
To leave that humble path where long they trod.'

I spoke—and whether grief sublim'd his pain,
Or conscience stung his soul, or high disdain;
His feet with tenfold haste the dance renew'd,
List'ning with fix'd delight, the Mantuan bard,
Silent awhile my strong invective heard,
And fondly came, and seiz'd me where I stood.

Pleas'd with my zeal, the friendly Bard embrac'd,
And to his heart with warmer rapture press'd
His filial charge, than e'er I felt before.
Then to another bridge that o'er the deep
Led us still onward, to the central steep;
My weight with Angel-arm the Poet bore."

Boyd's Dante, vol. 2. 105—113.

(*c*) "Fiamma del ciel sù le tue treccie piova,
Malvagia; che dal fiume e da le ghiande,
Per l'altrui impoverir se'ricca e grande,
Poi che di mal oprar tanto ti giova:

Nido ti tradimenti, in cui si cova,
Quanto mal per lo mondo hoggi si spande:
Di vin serva, di letti e di vivande,
In cui lussuria fà l'ultima prova.

Per le camere tue fanciulle e vecchi,
Vanno trescando, e Belzebub in mezzo,
Co mantici, col fuoco, e con gli specchi.

Già non fostù nudrita in piume al rezzo,
Ma nuda al vento, e scalza fra gli stecchi.
Hor vivi si, ch'a Dio ne venga il rezzo."

Luther was not therefore by any means the first champion who drew his sword against the Roman Pontiff, but

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"Fontana di dolore, albergo d'ira,
Schola d'errori e tempio d'heresia,
Già Roma, hor Babilonia falsa e ria,
Per cui tanto si piagne e si sospira.

O fucina d'inganni, o prigion dira,
Ove'l ben muore, e'l mal si nutre e cria,
Di vivi inferno; un gran miracol fia,
Se Christo teco alfine non s'adira.

Fondata in casta e humil povertate,
Contra tuoi fondatori alzi le corna,
Putta sfacciata; e dov' hai posto spene?

Ne gli adulteri tuoi? ne le mal nate,
Richezze tante."

"—— l'empia Babilonia, ond'è fuggita,
Ogni vergogna, ond'ogni bene è fori;
Albergo di dolor, madre d'errori."

"L'avara Babilonîa ha colmo'l sacco,
D'ira di Dio, e di vitii empi e rei
Tanto, che scoppia."

Opere di Petrar.

"Facta est hæc abusio, ut fieret quasi portentum multarum abusionum, quæ subsecutæ sunt in terris. Vix enim remansit aliquis episcopatus, sive dignitas ecclesiastica, vel etiam parochialis ecclesia, quæ non fieret litigiosa, et Romam deduceretur ipsa causa, sed non manu vacuâ. Gaude mater nostra Roma, quoniam aperiuntur cataractæ thesaurorum in terrâ, ut ad te confluant rivi, et aggeres nummorum in magnâ copiâ. Lætare super iniquitate siliorum hominum, quoniam in recompensationem tantorum malorum datur tibi pretium. Jocundare super adjutrice tuâ, discordiâ, quia erupit de puteo infernalis abyssi, ut accumulentur tibi multa pecuniarum præmia. Habes quod semper sitisti; decanta canticum, quia per malitiam hominum, non per tuam religionem orbem vicisti. Ad te trahit homines, non ipsorum devotio, aut pura conscientia, sed scelerum multiplicium perpetratio, et litium decisio, pretio comparata." *Querela Abbatis Urspergensis de Curiâ Rom. in vita Frederici Barbarossæ Imperat. ad annum 1198. in Hist. fol. 321.*

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but the intrepid courage and virtuous ferocity of this celebrated Augustine Monk had been wanting to execute what he brought about.

Sale of indulgencies.

The crying abuses of indulgencies, reduced under the Pontificate of Leo the Xth to the most sordid traffic, opened Luther's eyes, and as he grew enlightened himself he endeavoured to enlighten others.—An innumerable crowd of Roman Catholics rather feared a Deity than believed in one, and they were desirous of purchasing, at any price, the remission of their past sins, and an indulgence for their future ones. In the Tax, or Tariffe of Sins, the fixed price of each offence was duly stated, and the sinner might calculate to a farthing his expences, and balance the account between his confessor and himself, or his vices and his purse.—The body of an usurer might rest in Holy ground for EIGHT GROS—the seduction of a virgin stood at SIX GROS.—A modern Atys, Abelard, Origen, or Farinelli, had to pay SIXTEEN GROS for his own personal violation.—The altar might be made the scene of libidinous profanation for SIX GROS—and the gratification of a criminal connection with a sister, a cousin, a baptismal sponsor, or even a parent, was to be atoned for by EIGHT GROS, if the Church had not been previously acquainted with it, and in that case the demand rose to TEN GROS.—Murther was not forgotten in the catalogue of crimes, and even parricide had its settled absolution

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at a DUCAT AND FIVE CARLINS (*a*).—Yet there was one misfortune left—if the offenders were seized by the secular arm all the indulgencies in the world could not arrest its progress. The consolation however still remained, that if they expired on the rack their spiritual safety was secure, and that the executioner was only the rude instrument of conducting them into Abraham's bosom, and eternal glory!

It is astonishing that the Court of Rome should ever have been so weak as to publish (*b*) this list of crimes with the corresponding prices, but it appeared in 1514. —If indeed the publication was to be disputed, which has never yet been done, it would be of little consequence, as the tax existed in the Chancery at Rome, which excludes the possibility of denying it.—We ought however to do Leo the justice of acknowledging these criminal extravagancies were not of his invention. They had

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(*a*) *Taxe Cancellarie Apostolice de Ind. Laic.*——*Taxe sacre Penitentiarie Apostolice.*—On the Roman Chancery, Datery, and Penitentiary, Van Espen (*Jus. Ecclesias. Univer. par.* 1. *Tit.* 23. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.) may be consulted with advantage.

(*b*) The Roman edition of 1514, "apud Marcellum Silber in campo Florae," is scarce, though there are some copies yet remaining which have escaped the searches of the friends of the Church of Rome, and been preserved by its enemies.—The other editions are those of Cologne 1515, "apud Gorinium Colinium," republished 1573.—Paris 1520, "apud Tossanum Denis in vico S. Jacobi ad crucem ligneam," —Venice 1584, "cum Oceano juris,"—and one at Bois-le-Duc, "apud Stephanum du Mont, 1664," printed verbatim from the Roman copy, as appears by the annexed attestation of the Magistrates of Bois-le-Duc.

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had an earlier origin; and in promoting them to fill his coffers, he had only recourse to what had been already practised by his predecessors.—John the XXIId, who made money of every thing (*c*), first settled the Tariff, and in Leo's time the inferior agents who had the management of the trade were more reprehensible for their insolence than the Pontiff.—The complaints and murmurs might perhaps have ceased in an instant, if on the receipt of the immense sums drawn from Germany, Leo had appeared to disapprove of the conduct of his agents, instead of protecting them with an indiscreet warmth of temper; and it has been believed the project would have succeeded, even if he had continued neuter.—Far from such a judicious line of conduct, he despised at first the report made to him from Wittenberg, and observed, "that

Martin Luther

"Martin was a bright genius, and that the whole was "only

(*c*) "—Mezerai forme les mêmes accusations contre Jean XXII. Il avoit, selon lui, amassé son tresor par ses exactions sur le Clergé (*Mezerai Abrege Chronol. tom.* 3. 135.) Fra. Paolo (*Traite des Benefices*, 225.) y est encore plus expres et quand après avoir pesé les termes de tous ces auteurs, on etudie avec un peu de reflexion le *Livre* des Taxes, on ne peut s'empecher d'y voir mille traits si bien assortis à l' Idee qu'ils donnent des extorsions de ce Pape, et qui en justifient si bien la verité qu'il n'est presque plus possible de ne le pas regarder comme l'auteur de cet horrible ouvrage. Mais ce qui acheve enfin de m'en convaincre, le voici: C'est que dans les Taxes de la Chancelerie Apostolique, publiées sous Leo X, il est fait mention expresse et reitere de Taxes de Jean XXII. Ce livre y est cité, si je ne me trompe, plus de vingt-fois; on y entrevoit qu'il avoit été amplifié par d'autres Papes; on y indigne certaines taxes; on y marque quand on y deroge, et quand on y ajoute; et à moins que je ne m'abuse fort, on n'y parle des taxes d'aucun autre Pape anterieur à celui-la, Rien donc de plus naturel que de regarder ces Taxes comme la Production de Jean XXII." *Lettres sur les Jubiles par Chais. tom.* 2. 680—682. 12mo. *La Haye*, 1751.

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"only one of the little quarrels of a convent (*d*)." His first expedient, when he was roused from his slumbers, was an attempt to bribe the Monk, and to silence him by gentleness and kindness.—He neglected nothing likely to corrupt him, and made him the most magnificent offers, but neither the blasts of persecution, nor the splendid rewards which were set before him, could warp Luther's inflexible disposition.—Leo, unable to silence or seduce his formidable antagonist, then excommunicated him, and prevailed on the Emperor to put him under the ban of the Empire, after having first tried every effort to induce the Elector of Saxony to put him to death.—Luther, whose credit and reputation (*e*) increased daily, and whose

(*d*) "Che Frà Martino era un bellissimo ingegno, e chè coteste erano invidie fratesche."

(*e*) "Luther's Life and History have been a fruitful subject for almost innumerable authors. Mosheim has briefly sketched out the leading features of his character.—' None of the qualities or talents that distinguished Luther were of a common or ordinary kind. His genius was truly great and unparalleled; his memory vast and tenacious; his patience in supporting trials, difficulties, and labour, incredible; his magnanimity invincible, and independent on the vicissitudes of human affairs; and his learning most extensive, considering the age in which he lived.—It would be equally rash and absurd to represent this great man as exempt from error, and free from infirmities and defects; yet, if we except the contagious effects of the age in which he lived, and of the religion in which he had been brought up, we shall perhaps find but few things in his character that render him liable to reproach."

Dr. Maclaine's Translation of Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. 4. 29. 8*vo.* 1790.

On the subject of Luther's infirmities and defects Dr. Robertson has forestalled me in an observation which I should otherwise have made;—"That in passing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and

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whose cause was now openly espoused by the Elector of Saxony, and some other German Princes, no longer kept any terms with the See of Rome, and boldly rent the veil which had so long concealed a collection of sacred absurdities.—The Golden Colossus was shaken to its basis, and it was discovered that it had been only filled with rubbish, bones, and mud.

Notwithstanding this furious Reformer's natural impetuosity of temper, he preserved for a while some appearances of respect for the Triple Crown, and in his dedication to the Treatise on Christian Liberty he calls the Roman Pontiff "the most excellent Leo," and describes him as a lamb amongst wolves—a second Daniel in Babylon—and another Ezekiel, surrounded with scorpions.—Provoked however by the thunders of the Vatican, he lost his moderation, and "the most excellent Leo" was transformed into "diabolical filth"—"Stercus Diaboli"—and "the Governor of Sodom."—"How delightful it "would be," he says, "master Leo, to see you and your "Cardinals dangling from the gallows, like the seals to "your bulls!—Take care, my little Pope—softly, my "little friend, you are upon ice—it is very slippery—you "may break a leg, and if in the tumble you should "chance

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maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually." (*Hist. of the Emperor Charles the Vth, book* 6. *vol.* 3. 67. 4*to*. 1769.—The Reader will apply the remark, and feel its consequence.

"chance to drop any thing, they may cry, 'What the "'Devil is this?'"—The most abominable abuse and raillery, in short, were plentifully poured on the Holy Father, and such a mixture is always formidable.—Pascal was fully sensible (*f*) of the efficacy of the potion, and this sublime Jansenist distributed it very liberally to his friends the Jesuits in the last century.—Yet the pleasantries of Luther and the wit of Pascal are very different, and Martin's salt wants the refinement of that of Blaise.

It has been matter of doubt whether the gross injuries which Luther vomited forth in an age less polished than our own, and strengthened by the solidity of his arguments, were of real service to his cause.—Whatever may be the opinion, his adversaries undoubtedly were equally abusive.—Many of the ablest champions of the Papal party have unanimously agreed that he was the offspring of a bestial commerce between his mother and a goat, or the Devil under that disguise.—This finishes the argument, and leaves not another word to be said upon the question.—Joyful as the deliverance from the yoke of spiritual bondage has been, there is one Protestant, and that Protestant is Leibnitz, who hazards the following sentiments in the preface to his Diplomatic Code.—

"The

(*f*) Bayle, no bad judge either of an offensive attack, or the best method of repelling it, has judiciously observed, "Une refutation serieuse ne fait pas à beaucoup près tant de mal, que les railleries d'un homme d'esprit."

"The last Popes before the Reformation, wishing to "strain their power beyond all bounds, by that means "lost the authority which is their due, and in which "Christianity had such an interest."—In another passage he speaks more forcibly;—"Since God is the God of "Order, and the Body of the individual Catholic and "Apostolic Church under a single Government and a "Hierarchy, which includes all its members, is of Divine "Right; it follows that there is of Divine Right also a "Sovereign Magistrate, contained within due bounds, "with a directing Power, and the faculty of doing every "thing necessary for the safety of the Church, though "the seat of this spiritual power has been established at "Rome only by human means, and out of temporal "motives (*g*)."

These sentiments of Leibnitz will not probably find many advocates out of the pale of the Roman Catholic church, though the Protestants capable of examining them with candour, without enthusiasm, and without prejudice, will agree in lamenting that this memorable revolution in the human mind should have been the occasion of so many wars and massacres (*h*).—Truth and Liberty

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(*g*) *T.* 5. *p.* 228. *Ep.* 8. *ad Fabricium.*

(*h*) "Nullas infestas hominibus BESTIAS ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus," (*Amm. Marcell. lib.* 22. *c.* 5.) is the correct, but severe observation of a writer who had attended to the early inveteracy of the Christian sects against each other, and both Belgium and the Plains of Languedoc have verified,

Liberty are inestimable blessings, but the blood of man has also its value! CHAP. VII.

If Leo the Xth had foreseen the important consequences of these measures, and that his spiritual empire was to run the risk of losing one half of its subjects, in all likelihood he would have opposed the reformation with more eagerness, rather than have directed his whole attention to inferior objects, or disturbed the peace of Italy again for less essential interests.—It is not certain whether he inherited merely his predecessor's intentions, and wished but to drive the Ultramontanes out of Italy, whether he meant to satisfy himself with the recovery of Parma and Placentia, or took aim at the addition of Ferrara on which he had long cast his eyes. After floating a long time between the two rival monarchs, he finally attached himself to the Emperor Charles the Vth, who saw with great impatience the French continue in the possession of the Milanese. Francis had sent Lautrec into Italy but without the sinews of war, and consequently without the means of resisting the efforts of the combined arms. Fortune did not long hesitate on which side the scale should preponderate.—The principal attack was made against Milan, and both the Pope's personal hatred of Lautrec and the Emperor's wishes appeared to be united in their object. The

after many centuries, the mournful fact.—The Pagan authority of the Latin author is supported by the Christian evidence of St. Chrysostome in his 27th Homily on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians.

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Capture of Milan, and recovery of Parma and Placentia.

The capture of Milan was not a work of much difficulty, and Parma and Placentia soon fell after it. The intelligence of these successive instances of good fortune which followed each other so rapidly, was conveyed immediately to Rome, and it gave Leo more satisfaction as he durst not even hope for such an expeditious and complete triumph. His joy was, notwithstanding, too powerful, and it brought on a fever, which ill treated or neglected carried him in a few days to the tomb (*i*).—It was commonly reported that he died of an excess of joy, but it was neither true nor probable.—Faintings have been often produced by such emotions: death seldom happens, and only in those cases where the effect is very violent from an instantaneous transition of extreme sorrow to extreme happiness. Death also in such circumstances is immediate, owing to an increased flow of blood into the ventricles of the heart, and the patient does not sink as Leo did after a weak and languid intermission of many days.—Perhaps this cause of his death has been imagined as a contrast to that of his predecessor, who narrowly escaped having his head taken off by a cannon-shot, and died afterwards of a slow fever, which was attributed to chagrin.—Some writers have accused Malespina Leo's cham-

Death of Leo the Xth.

(*i*) "Morì di morte inaspettatata il primo giorno di Decembre il Pontefice Leone, ilquale havendo havuto alla villa della Magliana, dove spesso si riduceva per sua ricreatione, la nuova dell' acquisto di Milano, et ricevutone incredibile piacere, soprapreso la notte medesima da piccola febbre, et fattosi il giorno seguente portare a Roma, ancor che da' Medici fusse riputato di piccolo momento il principio della sua infermità; morì fra pochissimi giorni." *Guicciardini, lib.* 13. 415.

chamberlain of administering to him a powder, that it is seldom necessary to repeat, and they have insisted the proofs were suppressed out of respect for the French Monarch (*a*)—The last argument is sufficient to discredit the assertion.—The hero of Marignan did not attack his enemies with corrosive sublimate, and neither infusions of arsenic nor hemlock were his arms.

The death of the Roman Pontiff was, notwithstanding, so unexpected, that he did not receive the last sacraments of the Church, and the circumstance gave rise to the lines,

"SACRA sub extremâ si forte requiritis horâ,
Cur Leo non poterat sumere? VENDIDERAT."

His character.

Leo the Xth was in the forty-sixth year of his age, in the height of prosperity, and the male legitimate line of Cosmo de' Medici ended with him as he survived his two brothers and his nephew Lorenzo.—His was a mixed character, disfigured by many bad qualities, adorned by many virtues,

(*a*) Guicciardini is one of those authors who have stated the suspicion. "Non senza SOSPETTO GRANDE di veleno, datogli, secondo si dubitava, da Bernabò Malespina suo Cameriere, deputato a dargli de bere: ilquale se ben fusse incarcerato per questa sospitione, non fu ricercata più oltre la cosa: perche il Cardinale de' Medici come fugiunto a Roma, lo fece liberare, per non havere occasione di contrare maggiore inimicitia col Rè di Francia, per opera di chi si mormorava, ma con autore, et congetture incerte, Bernabò havergli dato il veleno." *Guicciardini, lib.* 13. 416.

virtues, and he deceived the world both in respect of his talents and integrity (*b*). If the former were ever doubted, they were afterwards universally acknowledged, and the latter though it might have been once believed at last ceased to be even problematical.—A fickle instability of temper, perfidy would be perhaps too severe a term for it, seemed to be natural to him, and it varied his sentiments on every change of fortune. Yet inconstancy may sometimes have reason on its side, hypocrisy has none.—His conduct, to borrow Dante's idea, was rather marked by the cunning wiles of the Fox, than the generous boldness of the Lion—

"——— l' opere sue,
Non furon Leonine ma di Volpe."

Fregoso the Doge of Genoa with great address reproached him for his want of candour, his crooked system of politics, and his duplicity. Having laid himself open to some censure on the same principles, he apologized to the Roman Pontiff by a species of manifesto in a letter, where after having stated his reasons for his conduct, he proceeds to observe that he flattered himself they

(*b*) "Mori, se tu risguardi l'opinione de gli huomini, in grandissima felicità, et gloria. ——— Principe nel quale erano degne di laude, et di vituperio molte cose, et che ingannò assai l'espettatione che quando fu assunto al Ponteficato s'haveva di lui; conciosia ch'ei riuscisse di maggior prudenza, ma di molto minore bontà di quello ch'era giudicato da tutti." *Guicciardini, lib.* 13. 416.

they were such as his Holiness must approve of, though he should have doubted of being able to justify himself to a simple individual, or a sovereign so little enlightened as to conceive the scrupulous maxims in private life ought always to be adhered to in public transactions; that he had, however, the happiness of explaining himself to a sovereign of the greatest political sagacity, and who knew better than any other person how far state reasons allowed princes to deviate from the strict rules of morality, and that the dissimulation which concealed what was meant, and proposed what was never intended, instead of being criminal was a laudable discretion.

Leo the Xth's excessive attachment to dissipation and pleasures of every kind was another stain in his character (*c*). In the words of an old French author, "Il alloit "à la chasse fort souvent, et voyoit fort bien en l'air "haut eslevés les esperviers, vautours et aigles, mais en "récompense il lisoit, mettant la lettre auprès du nez, "encore n'y pouvoit-il voir goute; ce qui m'a fait souve- "nir d'un bon Curé, qui ne peut lire ès grosses lettres des "livres d'église sans lunettes, et néanmoins voit fort bien ès

(*c*) "Egli per natura dedito all'ocio, et a'piaceri, et hora per la troppà licenza, et grandezza alieno sopra modo dall e facende, immerso ad udire tutto'l giorno musiche, facetie, et buffoni, inclinato ancora troppo più, che l'honesto a'piaceri." (*Guicciardini, lib.* 14. 398.)—Bower has collected some of his witticisms and buffooneries. *History of the Popes, vol.* 7. 417.

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" ès plus petits dez qu'on sauroit choisir, et ne le pourroit-on abuser (*d*)."

They who recollect what all the historians have said of his violent passion for the chace, which was not a Papal exercise and took up a vast portion of his time, will not without a smile peruse his correspondence with the Emperor and Francis the Ist, on their attention to his favourite amusements (*e*).

A more serious accusation remains to be noticed and that is the impiety, with which he has been charged. Two philosophers are said to have been disputing in his presence, one of whom denied the immortality of the soul, which the other insisted on, when he terminated the difference by observing that the affirmative of the proposition appeared to him probable, but the negative was more proper for a person who wished to enjoy himself.—Luther relates the story in his commentary on the Book of Genesis, but it is a paltry piece of wit.—The love of existence is so strongly woven in the human heart, that a belief of annihilation would poison all its pleasures!

Another

(*d*) " Des Accords, Bigarrures."

(*e*) " Aquilas quatordecim avibus capiendis idoneas, quas mihi Adulfus Vandra familiaris tuus attulit, regium sanè munus libenter ut debui accepi. Et sunt enim im-

Another witticism is said likewise to have escaped him on a similar occasion. "You will allow, my good "friends,

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ræ pulchritudinis, et abs te, quem ego mihi filii loco esse duxi: ejus præterea generis, quod omnium et nobilius est et rarius: ut neque multæ ullis in locis capiantur, neque sæpe ad nos veniant. Tu vero uno munere tot misisti, ut existimem earum capiendarum artem aliquam te callere. Nisi fortè ipsæ sponte suâ omnibus e regionibus isto convolant, ut abs te capiantur, tibique serviant. Quod si est, tu eis malè gratus fuisti, qui ad me miseris. Sed omnino extra jocum, mallem tibi eas retinuisses, quam mihi misisses; quippe quæ tibi voluptati multo magis fuissent, quam mihi erunt, qui tantummodo cum autumni Romanum cœlum fugio, valetudinis interdum causâ venatione aucupioque me oblecto, vel eos potius, qui mecum sunt; ut jocundior per agros vagatio et delectabilior nos diutius in labore viæ teneat. Tu vero adolescens et Rex, ut multas horas omni tempore consumere arbitratu tuo possis, eis et sæpius usus fuisses, et utilius, addo etiam et decentius. Quod mihi tamen munus ipsum tuum multo charius atque amabilius facit; cum eo te defraudes ipse, qui uti rectè potes, ut mihi des, qui non possum. Et quoniam bellissimæ, ut dixi, sunt, dabo operam, ut aliquo te remunerer munere. Interea valebis, nosque ut facis diliges. Dat. IIII. Id. Januar. 1516. Anno quarto. Româ." *Carolo Hispaniæ Regi.*

"Accepi tuis cum litteris et canes venaticos ad perquirendas feras et casses ex tela ad concludendas idoneos, quos misisti: utrumque munus et numero et pulchritudine sanè regium, et mihi apprimè gratum vel per sese, vel quod abs te proficiscitur. Itaque et iis jam sum bis terve usus multâ cum voluptate: quos mihi etiam probatiores fecit Bardariæ familiaris tui, qui eos attulit, industria: et utar posthac, cum per negotia occupationesque meas exire Româ mihi licebit. Omnino enim experior tum equitationem illam, tum avocationem animi, quam sibi vindicat tantisper venatio, valde mihi proficere ad valetudinem viresque corporis vel firmandas vel restituendas. Quare cum eo de munere, tum de curâ quam geris de salute meâ, valde te amo. Hortor autem, etiamsi minus necessè est, quando ego te verâ solidâque benevolentiâ prosequor, tu me amare magnopere ostendis, perstemus uterque, quemadmodum quidem facimus, in eodem tum inter nos, tum erga rempublicam sensu: ut et nobis ipsi et Dei Ecclesiæ esse usui et dignitati possimus. Dat. Id. Apr. Anno quinto. Româ." *Francisco Gallorum Regi.*

Sir William Blackstone has remarked, "The Pontifical or Canon Law interdicts "Venationes et sylvaticas vagationes cum canibus et accipitribus" (*Decretal. lib.* 5. *tit.* 24. *c.* 2.) to all Clergymen; grounded on a saying of St. Jerome "Venatorem nunquam legimus sanctum," (*Decret. pars.* 1. *Dist.* 34. *c.* 1.) and that it never

" friends, that the Fable of Christianity has been of great service to us," which is equally destitute of probability. It was indeed attributed to Boniface the VIIIth and several others.—That Leo was very gay, cannot be denied—a prince most attentive to his temporal concerns, we must admit—a Pope that did not believe in the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, be it so—but he had still great sense and understanding.—To avow without decency such gross improprieties is not common with those who are guilty of the most irregularities in such stations, and the Popes might be counted in the twinkling of an eye, who have not had religion enough for this world.——

Notwithstanding the reproaches, which have been made

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was recorded that these diversions were used by the Saints or primitive Fathers. The Canons of our Saxon Church published in the reign of Edgar (*Cap.* 64.) concur in the same prohibition: though our secular laws at least after the Conquest and even in the times of Popery dispense with this Canonical impediment, and Spiritual persons were allowed by the common law to hunt for their recreation, in order to render them fitter for the performance of their duty: as a confirmation whereof we may observe that it is to this day a branch of the King's prerogative at the death of every bishop (4. *Inst.* 309.) to have his kennel of hounds, or a composition in lieu thereof." (*Comment on the Laws of England, vol.* 2. 412. *8vo.* 1794.)—The Legal Reader will recollect the case of Archbishop Abbot, who had the misfortune to kill a Park-keeper in shooting at a deer, reported in the State Trials with a profusion of Canonical learning. After a variety of arguments the proceedings were laid before the Lord Keeper, Judges, and Bishops, and they recommended the King to give the Right Rev. Prelate a dispensation " IN MAJOREM CAUTELAM, SI QUÆ FORTE SIT IRREGULARITAS." Sir H. Spelman went deep into the question, as may be seen in the Reliquia Spelman. 107.

made to Leo the Xth, and which in some degree he merited, his memory will not cease to be honoured, and he will continue to interest us in spite of his weaknesses or faults.—The great example of his illustrious father was not lost upon him, and with an hereditary taste for the arts, sciences, and letters, he distinguished them by his protection and his patronage.—His pontifical reign was considered as a second age of gold, and Pope has not with the privilege of a poet called fiction to his aid when he describes in glowing colours that brilliant era.

Observations on the Arts and Sciences under his reign.

"But see! each Muse, in Leo's golden days,
Starts from her trance, and trims her wither'd bays,
Rome's ancient genius, o'er its ruins spread,
Shakes off the dust, and rears his rev'rend head.
Then Sculpture and her sister arts revive;
Stones leap'd to form, and rocks began to live,
With sweeter notes each rising temple rung,
A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung,
Immortal Vida! on whose honour'd brow
The Poet's bays and Critic's ivy grow:
Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
As next in place to Mantua, next in Fame (*f*)!

Even the language of ancient Rome seemed to revive with elegance.—Leo was no sooner honoured with the Tiara than he made choice of Bembo, a noble Venetian, and

(*f*) *Pope's Essay on Criticism*, 697—708.

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and Sadoleto of Modena, as secretaries of his briefs, two writers of the most polished verse and prose. The rigid moralist has however perceived in some of Bembo's productions an air of corruption and of licentiousness.—His Azolans, Treatises on Love, written in the Castle of Azola, enjoyed great reputation on their first appearance, but their periods are the periods of a league.—His Elegy of Galatea is a master-piece.—In their official capacity Bembo and his colleague affected rather too much an imitation of Cicero's style and manner, and, as Justus Lipsius has observed, it sometimes creates a smile, and sometimes indignation. From an Ecclesiastical subject there is often an immediate transition to a temporal, profane, and even a Pagan one, and the Holy Father is very frequently made to swear, like an ancient Heathen, by the immortal Gods, or Hercules (*g*). It will be only necessary to cite a single passage, where Leo reproaches the inhabitants of Recanati for having furnished the building of our Lady of Loretto with bad wood, and demands of them a supply of a better quality, "Ne tum nos, tum "etiam DEAM ipsam lusisse videamini."

It has been pretended that Bembo said those hours of his life had been wasted which he had employed in the study of the Scriptures—that he spoke with great contempt

(*g*) "Quod ita fore spem in Diis immortalibus habemus. ——— Eo accepto nuncio valdè mehercule gravisus sum."

tempt [illegible] the Epistles of St. Paul—and that he never repeated his Breviary that he might not corrupt his Latin.—The whole of this deserves but little credit.—Bembo's letters and his life prove him to have been both a man of letters and a good Christian, but he had ridiculously adopted the phrases of Cicero on ecclesiastical or religious subjects, and Erasmus has ridiculed it with great wit and ingenuity in his Ciceronianus (*a*).—Bembo's Latin style is forced and laboured—words and things are perpetually at war; and if he always triumphs, it is sometimes by the dint of excessive pains, and sometimes at the expence of judgment.—The Roman Orator is to the Prelate what a graceful Dancer is to a Posture-Master.

St. Gregory the Great had formerly fallen into an opposite extreme, and nothing appeared to him more indignant

(*a*) "Hanc sententiam—Jesus Christus, verbum et filius Æterni Patris, juxta prophetias venit in mundum, ac factus homo, sponte se in mortem tradidit, ac redemit ecclesiam suam, offensique patris iram avertit a nobis, eique nos reconciliavit, ut per gratiam fidei justificati, et a tyrannide liberati, inseramur ecclesiæ, et in ecclesiæ communione perseverantes, post hanc vitam consequamur regnum cælorum; sic efferret Ciceronianus: 'Optimi maximique Jovis interpres ac filius, servator, rex, juxta vatum responsa, ex olympo devolavit in terras, et hominis assumptâ figurâ, sese pro salute reipublicæ sponte devovit diis manibus, atque ita concionem sive civitatem, sive rempublicam suam asseruit in libertatem, ac Jovis optimi maximi vibratum in nostra capita fulmen restinxit, nosque cum eo redegit in gratiam, ut persuasionis munificentiâ ad innocentiam reparati, et a sycophantæ dominatu manumissi, coöptemur in civitatem, et in reipublicæ societate perseverantes, quum fata nos evocarint ex hac vitâ, in Deorum immortalium consortio, rerum summâ potiamur."

dignant "than to submit the Divine Oracles to the rules "of grammar or the Ferule of Donatus (*b*)." Yet the Holy Father's zeal carried him undoubtedly too far. Elegance of language must be desirable on any subject, and a doubt might still remain of the truth of St. Jerome's pious tale of the Angels having descended from Heaven to scourge those profane theologians who had the audacity to turn over a page of classical literature, if the Saint had not been very feelingly in person convinced of the reality of their mission. "Nec vero sopor ille fuit," he says, in his letter to the devout Eustochium, "aut "vanum somnium, quo sæpe deludimur. Nunquam mihi "contingat in talem iterum incidere quæstionem! LIVENTES HABUI SCAPULAS, PLAGAS SENSI POST SOMNUM, et tanto dehinc studio divina legi, quanto non "antea mortalia legeram."

Bembo's History of Venice, on the model of Cæsar's Commentaries, is dry and cold, and only recommended by the purity of the style.—In general his works smell too much of the lamp, and have lost some of their force and substance by the polish (*c*).—A single Sonnet cost him an application of many months (*d*), but his Sonnets and

(*b*) "Indignum vehementer existimo ut verba cælestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati."

(*c*) "Video non deesse qui Bembi scripta non tam expurgata, quam religione nimiâ propè quâdam attenuata esse contendant." *Casa, Vita Bembi.*

(*d*) "Il reverendissimo e dottissimo Bembo penò talora a far un sonetto molti mesi e forse anni, se a coloro si può credere che l'affermano." *Vasari.*

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and Canzoni are only inferior to those of Petrarch.—On his own maternal language he bestowed great pains, and it owes him many obligations.—After a careful study of the best classical authors, he laid down rules for it, and reduced it into a system (*e*).—Bembo was raised to the Purple under Paul the IIId.

Sadoleto.

Sadoleto (*f*), his colleague, wrote principally on grave and serious subjects, adapted to his situation, and on moral and theological questions. His panegyric on Philosophy, and his Poem of Marcus Curtius were well received; but his chief work was another Poem, where, entering the lists with Virgil, he has described with wonderful vivacity the terrible group of the Laocoon, that living and feeling statue, which was dug up in Leo's reign, within the baths of the Tiber.—Reading Sadoleto, the group starts up at once before the astonished eye, and the Modenese Poet equals the Rhodian Sculptor (*g*).

This

(*e*) "Sunt Bembi de ratione Etruscè loquendi libri tres, in dialogo mirabiliter scripti, quibus profectò effectum est, ut, quod homines Etruscè loquantur, non bonæ modo jam consuetudinis sit, sed jam etiam scientiæ ac rationis."
Casa, Vita Bembi.

(*f*) "Hujusmodi Ciceronianos, qualem Sadoletum, ferre possum, qui summo præditi ingenio, disciplinis omnibus absoluti, tum judicio prudentiâque singulari, sive unum Tullium in dicendo sibi proposuerunt, sive paucos eximios, sive doctos omnes, non possunt non optimè dicere." *Erasm. Ciceroniam.*

(*g*) "Le statue sono eccellentissime, e degne d'ogni lode. Voi per certo lo potrete vedere dai soli versi di Jacopo Sadoleto, uomo il più dotto di questa città, il

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This able and judicious Roman Catholic had the strength of mind and the goodness of heart to distinguish and serve merit out of his own Church, and he lived in terms of friendship, and preserved a correspondence with some of the first Reformers. In a letter to one of them he assures him, "that as often as he has occasion to mention him, or Bucer, or Melanchton, to whose learning "he always does justice, he gives the world to know that "he sincerely esteems them, and that he is ready to do "them every kind office in his power." And these were not cold compliments.—When the Parliament of Provence sentenced nineteen inhabitants of the little village of Merindole to the flames, and decreed their houses to be demolished, and their property destroyed, the Vaudois flew in consternation to him. Sadoleto, who was then at his Bishopric of Carpentras, though they differed in their religious faith, received them with the humanity of a philosopher, and interceded in their favour.

Piero Valeriano Belzani of Venice, was warmly attached to Leo the Xth, and to the whole House of Medici. He was profoundly versed in the study of antiquity, and had bestowed many of his hours on Virgil.— His treatise "De Infelicitate Literatorum" is full of curious

quale a mio giudizio ha descritto Laocoönte, e i suoi figluoli non meno elegantemente colla penna, che gl'istessi artifici le abbiano condotte collo scalpello. Finalmente quegli, che leggeranno i versi del Sadoleto, non avranno gran fatto da desiderare di vedere le statue stesse; tanto egli mette sotto gli occhi ciascuna cosa."

Cesare Trivulzio.

rious matter and interesting details, but he wants judgment and discernment.

Vida.

It was under Leo's Pontificate that the most celebrated modern Latin Poets flourished.—Vida, Bishop of Alba, on the Tanero, was born at Cremona, and he reconciled his native city with the Muses.—If we are to believe Filelfo, it was the only town in Italy where learning was not in some estimation, and where men of letters were very ill received. Filelfo quitted it almost on the moment of his arrival, and poured out a torrent of curses and imprecations on its inhabitants (*h*). Vida however introduced a literary taste into his native city, and in return, they lose no opportunity of observing his cradle was near that of Virgil. After the Georgics, Vida's Poetics are perhaps the best Didactic Poem in the most classical verse, but his numbers are superior to his matter. They are sometimes even worthy of Virgil, for they are those of Virgil. He treats however his subject in an original manner, and the succeeding writers who have touched on the precepts of the art, either in verse or prose, owe him many obligations.

(*h*) "In crastinum diem hinc (Cremonâ) solvam, quod eò facio libentius, ne qua per me accedat vel utilitas vel voluptas ad tuos istos barbaros, quos Deus Opt. Max. radicitus perdat, idque propediem. Domum autem quam mihi paraveram, sibi ipsi habeant unà cum pestilentiâ atque ignorantiâ. Vale." *Epist. Philelph.*

"Apud Cremonenses nullus est neque musis neque probitati locus." *Ep. Phil.*

"Abeant in rem malam Cremonenses tui et tu item cum istis, si dignos putas quibus ignoscam." *Epist. Philelph.*

tions.—His "Silk-Worm" has not the same merit, and his "Chess" has still less.—The "Christiad" is a History of our Saviour's Life in verse, and has no pretensions whatever to Leo's compliment of the

"Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii!"

If Vida failed on a divine subject, Sannazario was less able to adapt his Christian airs to the strings of Apollo's lyre.—His Poem "De Partu Virginis" contains undoubtedly many beautiful passages, and there is great harmony in the versification, but there is a preposterous and indecent mixture of Paganism and its fables.—Christianity has no connection with the Muses, and the Mysteries of the Faith are inconsistent with the system of the Heathen mythology.

"Nec minus, o Musæ, vatum decus, hic ego vestros
Optârim fonteis, vestras nemora ardua rupeis:
Quandoquidem genus e cœlo deducitis, et vos
Virginitas, sanctæque juvat reverentia famæ.
Vos igitur, seu cura poli, seu Virginis hujus
Tangit honos, monstrate viam, qua nubila vincam;
Et mecum immensi portas recludite cœli.
Magna quidem, magna, Aonides, sed debita posco,
Nec vobis ignota: etenim potuistis et antrum
Adspicere et choreas: nec vos orientia cœlo
Signa, nec Eoos reges latuisse putandum est (i)."

"Protinus

(i) *Sannazarii de Partu Virginis, lib. 1. 7—18.*

"Protinus agnoscens dominum procumbit humi bos
Cernuus: et, mora nulla, simul procumbit asellus
Submittens caput, et trepidanti poplite adorat.
Fortunati ambo: non vos aut fabula Cretæ
Polluet, antiqui referens mendacia furti,
Sidoniam mare per medium vexisse puellam:
Aut sua dum madidus celebrat portenta Cytheron,
Infameis inter thyrsos, vinosaque sacra,
Arguet obsequio senis insudasse profani (*k*)."

"—— Jam festas mediatur Luna choreas:
Exsultant Hyades: gaudet mutata Boötes
Plaustra auro, totosque auro fulgere juvencos.
Tunc primum visa est miseri post fata parentis
Risisse Erigone, et longum posuisse dolorem:
Armatoque ensis subducitur Orioni (*l*)."

"Intremuere Erebi sedes, obscuraque Ditis
Limina: suspirans imo de corde Megæra
Dat gemitum, et torvas spectat sine mente sorores.
Tum caudam exululans sub ventre recondidit atram
Cerberus, et sonteis latratu terruit umbras:
Commotisque niger Cocytus inhorruit antris:
Et vaga Sisyphiis hæserunt saxa lacertis (*m*)"

The

(*k*) *Sannazarii, lib.* 2. 381—389.

(*l*) *Sannaz. lib.* 3. 120—125.

(*m*) *Sannaz. lib.* 1. 456—462.

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The visit and the prophetic conference of Proteus with the river Jordan are the height of extravagance.

"........ Mendax si cætera Proteus,
Non tamen hoc vanas effudit carmine voces.
Adveniet tibi, Jordanes, properantibus annis,
Adveniet, mihi crede, inquit, (certissima cœlum
Signa dedit: nec me delusum oracula fallunt:)
Qui te olim Nili supra septemplicis ortus,
Supra Indum et Gangem, fontemque binominis Istri
Adtollet fama ——— (*n*)."

The river has also its attendant water-nymphs like a Pagan stream.

"Agmina densantur natæ, pulcherrima Glauce,
Dotoque, Protoque, Galenaque, Lamprothoëque,
Nudæ humeros, nudis discinctæ veste papillis:
Callirhoë, Byroque, Pherusaque, Dinameneque,
Asphaltisque adsueta leveis fluitare per undas:
Ipsaque odoratis perfusa liquoribus Anthis,
Anthis, qua non ulla novos miscere colores
Doctior, aut pictis caput exornare coronis.
Mox Hyale, atque Thoë, et vultu nitidissima Crene,
Gongisteque, Rhoëque, et candida Limnoria,
Et Dryope, et virideis Botane resoluta capillos:
Ore Omnes formosæ, albis in vestibus omnes,
Omnes puniceis evinctæ crura cothurnis (*o*)."

These

(*n*) *Sannazarii, lib.* 3. 336—342. (*o*) *Sannaz. lib.* 3. 285—297.

The [illegible]able absurdities and enormous errors of the head are not balanced by the graces of his style, and perhaps the single Hymn of Prudentius, so full of simplicity and unction, which opens with the

> "Emerge dulcis pusio,
> Quem mater dat Virguncula,
> Parens et expers Conjugis (*a*),

is preferable to the three Cantos of the Neapolitan Bard. —Leo the Xth was off his guard, or entertained too high an opinion of the Poet, when he addressed a brief to Sannazario on the triumph of his Muse, and thanked Providence for having raised up such a champion, when the Church was attacked by so many enemies.

What a blow was this Poem "De Partu Virginis" for Luther and Melancthon!—Have the Eclogues of Sannazario more merit?—The scene is laid on the sea-shore—his shepherds are fishers—the sea calves his lambs—and the halcyons his linnets.—Theocritus was sometimes equally absurd,

(*a*) *Aurel. Prudent. Cathemerin, Hymn.* 11. *ad.* 8. *calendas Januarias sive de Natali Domini.*

Weitzius, in the edition, 8*vo*, *Hanov.* 1613, reads "Quem Matris edit castitas," instead of "Quem Mater dat Virguncula."

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absurd (*b*), and Metastasio (*c*) has followed the example. Yet this licence, excusable as it may be, according to the sentiments of some Critics, in the warm imagination of these two Sicilian Poets, is utterly inconsistent with the colder genius of the North.—Ice and white bears are too repugnant to the soft and voluptuous ideas of indolence and love.—Accustomed to the picture of a shepherd presenting his mistress with a garland of flowers, or a basket of fruit,

". . . . . tenera lanugine mala,
Castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat, (*d*)."

we must be naturally surprised with the lover who founds a claim to a return of his passion on the present of a barrel of oysters, and promises in addition a present of crabs or lobsters.

"Sola

(*b*) *Theocrit. Idyll.* 21.

(*c*) "Già la notte s'avvicina,
Vieni, o Nice, amato bene,
Della placida marina,
Le fresch' aure a respirar.
Non sa dir che sia diletto,
Chi non posa in queste arene,
Or che un lento zeffiretto,
Dolcemente increspa il mar."

(*d*) *P. Virgilii Eclog.* 2. 51, 52.

"Sola fugis? sola et nostros contemnis amores?
Ostrea Miseni pendentibus eruta saxis
Mille tibi misi: totidem sub gurgite vasto
Pausilypus, totidem vitreis Euplœa sub undis
Servat adhuc, plureis Nesis mihi servat echinos (e)."

Amongst his elegies there are some of perfect beauty. In the epigrams there is a mixture. Some consist of a play of words, others have elegance and grace, of which the following is an example:

"DE JOVE, ET CUPIDINE.

De Veneris nato questa est Dictynna Tonanti,
Quod nimis ille puer promptus ad arma foret.
Tum pater accito ostendens grave fulmen Amori,
Hoc tibi, sæve puer, spicula franget, ait.
Cui lascivus Amor motis hæc reddidit alis:
Quid si iterum posito fulmine Cycnus eris (f)?

Sannazario in the midst of his Latin studies did not neglect his native language, and his Arcadia, a pastoral romance in verse and prose, does him as much credit as his best Latin works. It procured him in Italy, and in other parts of Europe a numerous crowd of imitations, and in Great Britain the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney the

(e) *Sannazarii Eclog.* 2. 29—33. (f) *Sannazarii Epigram. lib.* 2. 23.

the governor of Flushing and the romantic candidate for the Crown of Poland. The pastoral of Sannazario would, notwithstanding, long since have been forgotten, if it had not suggested the idea of the academy known under the name of the "Arcadia Romana," which was intended to cultivate this particular species of poetry.—Crescimbeni, the historian of the Italian Muses, and the famous Cardinal de Tournon, who received the Red hat at Pekin, were its principal promoters, and its progress was astonishing.—A rage for pastoral life became the epidemic fever of the day, and the echo of the Seven Hills returned only the sounds of the tabor and pipe.—The City of Cities was changed into a rural village; the Cardinals and nobles were metamorphosed into shepherds or satyrs; and his Holiness ranged like "mighty "Pan" amongst them.—The public was glutted with twenty volumes of their labours, but in this enormous collection a few elegant morsels are to be found, or the Romans think so.—We may admire the diligence of these honest Arcadians, and we shall read Theocritus.

The academy of the Arcadia Romana.

The radical defect of this species of poetry consists in the narrow and confined space it can only occupy, and its ruinous foundation.—Copies are every where obtruded on the public of an original, which is still wanting and no where to be found.—Does it exist with the wandering tribes of the Bedouin Arabs, as has been by some writers supposed? Sheltered by their tents, and supported

ported by the milk of their flocks, they are less stupid than the Negro, and less brutal than the Iroquois, but are they as civilized as they are simple, and do they join to understanding innocence?—Shepherds that rob and plunder every unfortunate passenger they meet, are terrible shepherds.—In the Arcadia of the Ancients the Wolf and the Fox were the only Thieves.—This Roman academy, after having enjoyed for a long while a considerable degree of credit, is at present fallen in the public opinion. The President is said to traffic in the distribution of its patents, and the Abbés, his emissaries, officiously press its declining honours on almost every foreigner who visits Rome.

Fracastorio.

Geronimo Fracastorio of Verona, a philosopher and poet of distinguished reputation, has immortalized himself by a Latin poem, which has a greater resemblance with the Augustine age than any of the works of the other modern writers. The Siphylis of this countryman of Catullus, on a subject the least within the province of the Muses, needs not undoubtedly be mentioned to the classical scholar, and from the elegance and exquisite beauty of the following passage he will excuse its introduction.

"Ipse ego Cænomanûm memini quâ pinguia dives
Pascua Sebinâ præterfluit Ollius undâ
Vidisse insignem juvenem; quo clarior alter
Non fuit, Ausoniâ nec fortunatior omni:

Vix pubescentis florebat vere juventæ,
Divitiis proavisque potens et corpore pulchro,
Cui studia aut pernicis equi compescere cursum,
Aut galeam induere et pictis splendescere in armis,
Aut juvenile gravi corpus durare palæstrâ,
Venatuque feras agere et prævertere cervos.
Illum omnes Ollique Deæ, Eridanique puellæ
Optarunt, nemorumque Deæ rurisque puellæ,
Omnes optatos suspiravere hymenæos.
Forsan et ultores superos neglecta vocavit
Non nequicquam aliqua, et votis pia numina movit,
Nam nimium fidentem animis, nec tanta timentem
Invasit miserum labes, quâ sævior usquam
Nulla fuit, nulla unquam aliis spectabitur annis.
Paulatim ver id nitidum, flos ille juventæ
Disperiit, vis illa animi; tum squallida tabes
Artus (horrendum) miseros obduxit, et altè
Grandia turgebant fœdis abscessibus ossa.
Ulcera (proh Divûm pietatem!) informia pulchros
Pascebant oculos, et diæ lucis amorem,
Pascebantque acri corrosas vulnere nares.
Illum Alpes vicinæ, illum vaga flumina flerunt,
Illum omnes Ollique Deæ Eridanique puellæ
Fleverunt, nemorumque Deæ rurisque puellæ,
Sebinusque alto gemitum Lacus edidit amne."

Sannazario is said to have preferred this beautiful poem to his own "De Partu Virginis", and the whole literary world agrees with him in sentiment.—Yet the enthusiasm of a poet for a superior poet is extraordinary!

The

Battista of Mantua.

The Carme Battista of Mantua, who died in 1516, has been compared to Virgil, though the sole resemblance arises from their being both born in Mantua.—Whilst Virgil sung on the banks of the Tiber, the Monk croaked in the sedges of the Mincio.—His allegorical eclogues are truly laughable performances.—Two shepherds dispute in the characters of Carmes, one of whom is for the "strict observance," and the other for a mitigation of their rules.—Bembo is the umpire, and to complete the absurdity, their pipes are taken from them on the apprehensions of the contest being terminated by blows.—In others the shepherds are Epicureans or confirmed disciples of Averroes, and are often guilty of impiety.—Amintas, a little out of humour and in love, attacks both justice and religion, and declares the person to be a complete fool, who imagines after this life he shall go to Heaven. The Mantuan, to apologize for such a profligate idea, tells us, that Amintas had been corrupted by the manners of the city, and Badius his commentator defends him on the acknowledgment that he was in love, and that love and a high degree of faith are not often found together.

In defiance of these absurdities a marble statue crowned with laurel has been erected to the Carme in his native city close to that of Virgil, and his own order even think he has not been sufficiently honoured.—Chariot and horses of Elijah, cry these holy Monks, our Brother by the side of a Pagan!

During

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During the splendid reign of Leo the Xth, public spectacles and theatrical entertainments, so long forgotten or neglected, were revived with great pomp and lustre. Of the tragedies of his cousin-german Ruccellai some notice has been already taken, and the Sophonisba of Trissino will be hereafter mentioned. Bernardo Dovisio, so well known as the Cardinal Bibiena, awakened the Tuscan Thalia out of her sleep or stupor.—This Father of Italian Comedy was born in the neighbourhood of Arezzo, and attached to the Medici from his infancy; he attended Leo in his exile, and stood high in his esteem and favour. Great abilities rendered him as useful as he was entertaining (*g*), and Leo made him a Cardinal on his first promotion. We have the charming comedy of Calandra in prose from his pen, where great intrigue and a true comic vein of humour are happily united, though on the score of morality it is liable to some objections. Leo however directed it to be represented at the Vatican, where it had every advantage from scenery and decorations. Bibiena was sent as a Legate into France, and died soon after his return. From an ill-judged ambition, it has been pretended, that he aspired to the Pontificate, whenever a vacancy might happen, and that during his residence at Paris, Francis the Ist promised him his support. Leo, it is also pretended, younger and more healthy than Bibiena, was so much exasperated at the old

Bernardo Dovisio.

(*g*) "Quod unum in aulâ maximè conducit, jucundus." *Paulus Iovius.*

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old Cardinal's pretensions, that Bibiena finding himself ruined in his esteem and suspecting even designs against his life (*a*) died of grief and disappointment.—Nor is this extraordinary.—Courtiers are more sensibly affected with disgrace, than persons, who from a dignity of mind or the virtuous pride of independence cannot sacrifice their principles for empty honours or precarious interest.—Like meteors they dazzle for a moment—in the succeeding one they disappear and are extinguished!

The Mandragola.

Leo having heard of the astonishing success of the "Mandragola," or "Messer Nicia" of Machiavel, on the Florentine stage, was at the expence of bringing the Comedians and the scenery to exhibit it before him (*b*).—Even at this day the "Mandragola" retains its station, and it is indeed the only Italian Comedy of the kind. Is it possible to suppose it to have been the production of the same Genius from whom such profound speculations have originated? The variety and extent of the human mind is perhaps in nothing more conspicuous than in the contrast between the egregious dupe Messer Nicia, the complete cheat brother Timothy, and Machiavel's amazing

(*a*) "Inani sane argumento." *Paul. Iovius.*

(*b*) "Comiter æstimemus Etruscos sales, ad exemplar comœdiæ veteris Aristophanis, in Niciâ præsertim comœdiâ. Actam Florentiæ ex eâ miri leporis famâ, Leo Pontifex, instaurato ludo, ut Urbi ea voluptas communicaretur, cum toto scenæ cultu ipsisque histrionibus Romam accivit." *Paulus Iovius.*

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ing reach of thought, with which he has penetrated into the most secret recesses of Government, and untwisted the most entangled web of politics. But he is a tiger with all the playfulness of a cat.—Count Algarotti considers this comedy as superior to the best of Moliere's pieces, from the manners and comic humour being as well preserved, and the intrigue kept up to the end of the plot, a circumstance often neglected by the French writer. The Mandragola is certainly the first production of the kind since the days of Terence, with great strokes of nature, great humour, perfectly descriptive of Italian manners, especially those of its own times, and painting with great strength all the author wished to represent. Yet the action is so extremely licentious as to be intolerable in our more refined age, and what the Comedian would blush to represent, the audience would not suffer to be exhibited.

Images, purgatory, confession, and Monkish hypocrisy, which a Pope could scarcely wish to destroy, are so openly ridiculed, that Leo's prudence is very questionable in being present at such a Comedy, and applauding such a scene.—The following is one of brother Timothy's soliloquies:

"I have not been able to close my eyes the whole night "from my curiosity of knowing what other people are "doing, but I have contrived to employ myself.—I have "said

" said my Matins—I have read the life of one of the Holy " Fathers—I have been in the Church, and have lighted " the lamps that were gone out—and I have new dressed " our Lady of the Miracles.—How often have I begged " of our Brothers to keep their images clean! Can they " wonder at the failure of devotion? I can remember " when we had five hundred images, and now we have " not twenty.—It is all our fault, and we have lost our " credit.—After Vespers it was formerly the custom to " have a procession, and to sing Te Deum, or the Mag- " nificat, every Sabbath.—We had then vows and con- " fessions in plenty.—At present all these things are " over, and my friends are surprised at the coldness of " devotion.—Oh! what fools they are (*c*)!"

The Confession scene is as sarcastic.

" FRA.

(*c*) " Io non ho potuto questa notte chiuder occhio, tanto è il desiderio ch'io ho d'intendere come Callimaco e gli altri l'abbiano fatta, e ho atteso a consumare il tempo in varie cose. Io dissi matutino, lessi una vita de santi padri, andai in chiesa, e accesi una lampana che era spenta, mutai un velo ad una Madonna che fà miracoli. Quante volte ho io detto a questi frati che la tengano pulita, e si maravigliano poi se la divozione manca. Io mi ricordo esservi cinquecento imagini, e non ve ne sono oggi venti. Questo nasce da noi, che non le abbiamo saputo mantenere la riputazione. Noi vi solevamo ogni sera dopo la compieta andare a processione, e farvi cantare ogni sabato le laude. Botavanci noi sempre quivi, perchè vi si videsse delle imagini fresche; confortavamo, nelle confessioni gli uomini e le donne a botarvisi. Ora non si fà nulla di queste cose, e poi ci maraviglíamo se le cose vanno fredde. O quanto poco cervello è in questi miei frati!" *Att. 5. Sc. 1. Timoteo solo.*

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FRA. TIM. "If you wish to confess, I am at your "service."

DONNA. "No, no; not to-day: I have an en-"gagement, and I have settled my conscience a little "already. But have you said the masses to our "Lady?"

FRA. TIM. "Certainly."

DONNA. "Here, take this florin, and say every "Monday for two months the mass for the repose of my "husband's soul. And yet he was——the flesh was too "powerful.—Whenever I think of him I have a few fears "about him. Do you believe he is really in purga-"tory?"

FRA. TIM. "I have not a doubt of it."

DONNA. "I am not quite so easy on the subject; but "you know all that passed. How often have I lamented "it to you!—I did all I could—he was so impetuous.—"Oh! Lord, Lord!"

FRA. TIM. "Make yourself quite easy—the Mercy "of the Lord is great—if we only have the inclination "—your husband did not want it—he wanted only time "for penitence."

DONNA.

DONNA. "Do you think the Turks will invade us "this year?"

FRA. TIM. "Great alms can only hinder them."

DONNA. "Oh Lord, oh Lord! I am terribly afraid "these Devils will impale us (*d*)!"

Yet these were the scenes at which the Pope and twenty Cardinals were ready to burst with laughter!

Machiavel's other comedies are not equal to the Mandragola;

(*d*) "FRA. Se voi vi voleste confessare, io farò ciò che voi volete.

DON. Non per oggi; io sono aspettata, e mi basta essermi sfogata un poco così ritta ritta. Avete voi detto quelle messe della Nostra Donna?

FRA. Madonna sì.

DON. Toglietene ora questo fiorino, e direte due mesi ogni lunedì la messa de' morti per l'anima del mio marito. E ancora che fusse un omaccio, pure le carni tirano; io non posso far ch'io non mi risenta, quando io me ne ricordo. Ma credete voi chè è sia in purgatorio?

FRA. Senza dubbio.

DON. Io non sô già cotesto. Voi sapete pure quello che mi faceva qualchè volta. Oh quanto me ne dolsi io con esso voi! Io mi discostava quanto io poteva, ma egli era così importuno! Uh nostro Signore!

FRA. Non dubitate, la clemenza di Dio è grande; sennon manca a l'uomo la voglia, non gli manca mai il tempo a pentirsi.

DON. Credete voi ch'il Turco passi questo anno in Italia?

FRA. Se voi non fate lemosine, sì.

DON. Naffè, Dio ci ajuti. Con queste diavolerie io ho una gran paura di quello impalare." *Att. 3. Sc. 3. Fra. Timoteo e una Donna.*

In both these extracts I have abandoned Monsr. Tenhove, and nearly followed Machiavel.

dragola; though the Clizia, taken from a Greek comedy of Diphilus, or the Casina of Plautus (*e*),

"Quæ cum primum acta est, vicit omnes fabulas,"

has some merit.—"Il Segretario," "le Maschere, and "la "Sporta," are not in the collection of his works.

Leo had also two favourite Poets in his Court, Fausto Madalena

(*e*) "Scriba quem nôsti Florentinus comœdiam e Latinâ bonâ, Hetruscam fecit, meo judicio, non malam. Clitia siquidem illius eadem est quæ Plauti Casina; ex qua nonnulla interpres fidissimus penè ad verbum reddidit, quædam correxit cum arte, multa felicissimè imitatus est, aliqua verò aut imprudenter aut perversè; velut illa Olympionis villici ad stalinonem herum:

Inimica est tua uxor mihi, inimicus filius,
Inimici familiares.—STAL. Quid id refert tuâ?
Unus tibi hic dum propitius sit Jupiter,
Tu istos minutos cave Deos flocci feceris.
OLYMP. Nugæ sunt istæ magnæ; quasi tu nescias
Repente ut emoriantur humani Joves.
Sed tandem si tu Jupiter sis emortuus,
Cum ad Deos minores redierit regnum tuum,
Quis mihi subveniet tergo aut capiti, aut cruribus?

Casina, Act 2. *Scen.* 5.

Quæ sic Tuscus effinxit Scenâ Sextâ Actus tertii, ubi Pyrrhus hunc cum Nichomacho Sermonem habet:

NIC. Ch' importa à te? Stà ben con Christo, et fatti beffe de' Santi.
PYR. Si, ma se voi morissi, e Santi mi trattereb bono assai male?
NIC. Non dubitare, io ti faro tal parte che i Santi ti potranno dar pocä briga, &c. Hæc quod ad elegantiam, multo inferiora snnt Plautinis; indigna vero homine Christiano, qui sanctiores musas colit, et in ludicris quoque meminisse debet severitatis." *Balzac. Epist. Select. p.* 202, 203.

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Ariosto.

Madalena (*f*) of Rome, and Gui Postumo (*g*) de Pesara, but its brightest ornament was Ariosto, the sublime and comic Ariosto. Having spoken in one of his Capitoli of Leo's patronage of letters, he acknowledges that he had experienced himself the truth of what he advanced, and that when he went to pay his reverence to him, and kiss the Slipper, he perceived Leo recollected him, and that he graciously bent from his throne, took his hand between his own, and saluted him on both cheeks with a holy kiss (*h*).—Were Ariosto to revisit the earth where is the person of taste and sensibility that would not receive him in the same manner, and pardon his extravagancies on account of his numberless beauties?

Ariosto's distinguished reception by Leo gave his friends too sanguine expectations of seeing him immediately a Cardinal; but, far from flattering himself with such idle hopes, he addressed to them the following Apologue:

"During

(*f*) "Georgii Trapezuntii neptis Fausto Madalenæ Romano, poëtæ lepido, collocata est. Hic multa de Georgii prosoceri doctrinâ et litium acerbitate narrare solebat, cum Leoni ab amœnitate ingenii gratissimus floreret." *Paul. Iov.*

(*g*) "Guido Posthumus, Pisaurensis, lepido et comi argutoque ingenio poëta, in aulâ Leonis conspicuus fuit. Patebat enim ea liberaliter, meridianis præsertim horis, quum citharædi cessarent, omnibus eruditæ suavitatis oblectamentis." *Paul. Iov.*

(*h*) "Testimonio son io di quel che scrivo,
Ch'io non lo ritrovai, quando che il piede,
Gli baciai prima, da memoria privo:
Piegossi a me dalla beata sede,
La mano, e poi le gote ambo mi prese,
E il santo bacio in amendue mi diede."

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"During a certain summer the heat and drought were "so great, that people began to think that Phaeton had "tumbled a second time from the sky. Fountains, pools, "rivers, were dried up, and all the bridges were useless. "The earth was burnt up, and its inhabitants dying of "thirst. A rich shepherd, whose numerous flocks co-"vered the neighbouring plain, saw a benevolent Genius "in his sleep, who told him he might find water by dig-"ging in a valley that he pointed out. As soon as the "shepherd awoke he provided himself with spades and "shovels, mustered his wife, his children, and his fa-"mily, and set out for the place. He soon found the "water which had been promised him, but having only "one single little pitcher, he told his companions that "they must not be surprised if he drank first himself; "that as soon as he had satisfied his thirst his wife and "children should do the same, and afterwards the rest of "them in rotation, with a preference to those who had "assisted him in digging for the water. When they had "all drank the cattle were then to have their share, and "those that were most useful were to be first admitted "to the well. The arrangement being made, the family "drank in their turn, and for fear of being the last each "boasted of his services. A beautiful little roe-buck, "that had long been the delight of its master, shook its "head, and said, 'Poor little roe-buck, thou art no re-"lation of thy master, thou hast not been able to assist "him in digging the well, and thou art good for nothing.

"Before

" Before thy turn of drinking comes, thou wilt have ex-
" pired with thirst. Die then, or go look for water to
" satisfy thyself elsewhere.'——Believe me, my good
" friends, his Holiness thinks of nothing less than me,
" who can be of no use to his most humble servants. His
" relations, who are very numerous, must drink before
" me, next those who have contributed to elect him Pope,
" and afterwards those who have expelled the Gonfa-
" lonier Soderini, and restored the Medici.—Nothing
" certainly can be more just; and if poor little Ariosto is
" to wait till all these honest persons, who are very dry,
" have satisfied themselves, the well must be either ex-
" hausted before his turn arrives, or he will be dead of
" thirst.—Let us drink elsewhere, and bid adieu to these
" vain expectations (*a*)."

Leo

(*a*) " Una stagion fù già sì il terreno
Arse, ch'el Sol di novo a Faetonte,
De' suoi corsier parea aver' dat'il freno:
Secco ogni pozzo, secco ogni fonte,
I rivi i stagni e i fiumi più famosi,
Tutti passar si potean senza ponte.
In quel tempo d'armenti e di lanosi,
Greggi non so s'io dica ricco o grave
Era un pastor frà gli altri bisognosi,
Et ebbe lume e ispirazion di core,
Ch'indi lontano troveria nel fondo,
Di certa valle il desiato umore,
Con moglie e figli e con ciò ch'avea al mondo
Là si condusse e con gli ordigni suoi:
L'ac que trovò, ne molto andò profondo,

Leo unbended often, but his pleasures with his Poets as often degenerated into mere buffooneries. His famous Querno

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E non avendo con che attinger poi,
 Se non un vase picciolo e angusto,
 Disse, che mio sia'l primo non v'annoi,
Di mogliema il secondo, e'l terzo e quinto,
 Che sia de figli e'l quarto e fin che cessi,
 L'ardente sete ond'è ciascuno adusto;
Gli altri vuò ad un' ad un' che sian concessi,
 Secondo le fatiche agli famigli,
 Che meco in opra a' far' il pozzo ò messi;
Poi fù ciascuna bestia si consigli,
 Chè di quelle ch'a perderle è più danno,
 Innanzi all' altre la cura si pigli.
Con questa legge un dopo l'altro vanno,
 A bere, e per non essere i sezzai,
 Tutti più grandi i lor meriti fanno.
Questo una gaza che già amata assai,
 Fù dal padrone e in delizie avuta,
 Vedendo e ascoltando, gridò Guai?
Io non gli son parente nè venuta,
 A far'il pozzo nè di più guadagno,
 Gli son per esser mai ch'io gli sia suta,
Veggio che dietro a gli altri mi rimagno,
 Morrò di sete quando non procacci,
 Di trovar per uno scampo altro rigagno:
Cugin con questo esempio vuò che spacci,
 Quei che credon ch'el papa porr' inanzi,
 Mi debba a Neri a Vanni a Lotti e a Bacci;
Li nepoti e i parenti che son tanti,
 Prim' anno a ber, poi quei che l'ajutaro,
 A vestirsi'l più bel di tutti i manti,
Bevuto ch'abbian questi, gli fia caro,
 Che bevan quei che contra il Soderino,
 Per tornarlo in Firenze si levaro.
L'un dice, io fui con Pietro in Casentino,
 E d'esser preso e morto a rischio venni,
 Io gli prestai denar', grida Brandino;

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Querno of Monopoli.

Querno of Monopoli, crowned by him with laurel, vine leaves, and cabbage, and promoted to the dignity of Arch-Poet, was a doggrel versifier, who attended when he dined, at an humble distance in one of the windows, and devoured very greedily what was sent him from the table. He was supplied with wine in plenty on the condition of producing extempore verses on the subject that was given him (*b*), and when they were not approved his wine was lowered with water.—Baraballo di Gaeta (*c*) was

Baraballo di Gaeta.

Dice un altro, a mie spese il frate tenni,
 Un anno, e lo rimessi in veste ed in arme,
 Di cavallo e d'argento lo sovvenni.
Se fin che tutti beano aspetto a trarme,
 La volontà di bere, o me di sete,
 O secco il pozzo d'acqua veder parme;
Meglio è starmi 'n la solita quiete."

(*b*) One day the Arch-Poet was a little out of humour, and observed, he had too much work upon his hands:

"Archipoëta facit versus pro mille poëtis,"

Leo added the Pentameter,

"Et pro mille aliis Archipoëta BIBIT,"

The BIBIT restored his temper, and the

"Porrige, quod dictet mihi carmina docta Falernum,"

instantaneously followed. "No," replied Leo,

"Debilitant nimium vina Falerna PEDES."

The pun on the word PEDES escaped Monsr. Tenhove, who had only the idea of the gout.

(*c*) "Effundebat insulsissimos versus ab omni vocum, ac numerorum enormitate ridendos." *Paul. Iov.*

"Baraballo era Gaetano, e perciò era detto anchè l'Abate di Gaëta, ed era poëta volgare, è cattivo, —— Gli fù preparato il trionfo in Campidoglio, ed egli si

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was nearly such another versifier as Querno, with the exception that he wrote in the Italian language.—An elephant *(d)* from Malabar had been presented to the Pope by Emanuel, King of Portugal, on which this ridiculous follower of the Muses was mounted in triumph on its entrance into Rome.—Alarmed at the music, and shouts of the crowd, the elephant grew riotous, and the poor Poet was tumbled to the ground.—Such amusements are barely excusable in the lower ranks of life; with the solemn and sublime duties of the Vicegerent of Omnipotence they were utterly inconsistent!

Andrea Maro, the celebrated Improvisatore.

The celebrated Improvisatore Andrea Maro of Bresse, was infinitely superior to these buffoons, and his uncommon talents did not escape Leo's notice. On a public entertainment where all the Catholic Envoys were assembled, he was directed to exercise himself on the harmony amongst the Christian Powers, and their happy union against the common enemy. The production was universally

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partì dal Vaticano montato sopra un elefante, e il Papa stette a una finestra a vederlo montare. ——— La funzione non si fece altrimenti, perchè l'elefante spaurito da' gridi del popolo, e dal suono de tamburi, vicino a ponte lo gettò per terra, e dalla caduta rimase tanto mal trattato, che non potette portarsi al campidoglio. Questa buffonata fù invenzione del Card. Bibbiena." *Bottari.*

(d) The picture of this animal was taken, and the following lines were added to it:

"Invidit Latii sedem mihi Parca beati,
Nec passa est ternos domino famularier annos.
Ah quæ sors rapuit naturæ debita nostræ
Tempora, vos Superi magno accumulate Leoni!"

versally applauded, and extended to a great length.—A few of the first words are all that remain of it:

> "Infelix Europa diu quassata tumultu,
> Bellorum,"

though the Pope was so much satisfied with it as to present Maro with a rich Abbey.—Paulus Iovius, an eye-witness, has described the Improvisatore, his enthusiasm and poetical inspiration, in the following manner: "Fidibus "et cantu musas évocat, et cum semel conjectam in nu"meros mentem alacriore spiritu inflaverit, tantâ vi in "torrentis morem citatus fertur, ut fortuita et subitaneis "tractibus ducta, multum ante provisa et meditata car"mina videantur. Canenti defixi exardent oculi, sudores "manant, frontis venæ contumescunt, et, quod mirum "est, eruditæ autres tanquam alienæ et intentæ omnem "impetum profluentium numerorum exactissimâ ratione "moderantur."

What a strange composition was Leo the Xth!—Is there a taste more unworthy of a rational mind and a feeling heart than amusement derived from a view of human imbecility? Yet it was one of Leo's pleasures. Vile flatterers were perpetually in quest of the wretched beings whose weakness or insanity had at intervals some sprightliness or drollery, and they collected them from all parts to make their court to him.—A person had long solicited

solicited in vain an audience of Leo, and he counterfeited the fool at last to obtain the interview. He waited on the chamberlain and told him in a very pompous and ridiculous manner and with many absurd gestures, he had a most extraordinary poem to offer to his Holiness, and that the world had never yet seen any thing equal to it. The courtier flew like lightning and informed his master there was in the anti-chamber a greater idiot than usual. "Let him enter," replied the Pontiff, and when the supposed fool was introduced, both Leo and his chamberlain discovered they had been outwitted and were the dupes (*e*).

A Protestant author has embellished this story, and supposed the person in question, a worthy Ecclesiastic and an old friend of Leo, to have addressed him in the following terms.

"Be

(*e*) "Hominum ridiculè insanientium genere non minimum delectabatur Leo X, cujus gnathones, quos circa se habebat, dabant operam ut eos, quibus levis mens esset, ad insaniam adigerent, seque eos esse qui non essent, arbitrarentur, in quo mirabiliter lusus est a quodam, cui petenti aditum, non dabat. Qui cum multos dies expectasset, atque omnes ad Pontificem allegationes difficiles, omnes aditus arduos interclusosque videret, seducto pontificii cubiculi Præfecto, carmina se Leoni velle tradere significat, quibus lectis obstupesceret, ad incredibilem animi admirationem efferretur; quo ille audito, ventis atque avibus ocyjus, advolavit in Leonis cubiculum, atque hilaritate lætitiâque redundans, invenimus, inquit, perfectæ insaniæ hominem, qui tibi voluptati maximæ erit. At ille sine morâ intromissus, ex illis se integumentis simulationis evolvit, causam cur insaniam simulasset aperuit, negotium quod volebat exposuit, itaque ille deridiculo illos habuit, quibus ludendus tradebatur." *Janus Nicius Erythræus.*

" Be not surprised, Holy Father, that instead of an " idiot, from whom you promised yourself some enter- " tainment, you find an old friend, who has taken this " method to procure an audience and acquaint you with " your indiscretion. Is there a possibility of convincing " you more effectually of the indecent manner, in which " you treat persons in many respects your equals, than " the expedient to which I have been reduced to get an " interview? To be pleased with folly in others is the " height of folly, and notwithstanding the respect I owe " your Holiness, I must say, to rejoice at the ruins of hu- " man reason is an insult to human understanding. Your " Holiness, blessed with superior talents, has too much " sense to believe you can only shine in such company. " —Consider the respect you owe yourself, and get rid " of your Querno and Baraballo, on whom you have show- " ered down your bounties, and distribute your favours " to persons of real merit and character. If your Ho- " liness is not concerned in the interest of Religion and " virtue, I beseech you to have some regard for your " own personal safety. Common prudence will not ad- " mit of your carrying your jokes too far.—When the " people are once accustomed to see a Pope so very gay, " they may laugh in their turn at many things they have " hitherto respected. Even your celebration of Mass " ' in Pontificalibus' may not escape their notice, and " your changing first one dress and then another as cer-

" tain

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" tain passages occur, receiving your Crosier in the midst " of one prayer, and putting on your slippers or your " mitre in another, may appear a little comic. Perhaps " they may go so far as to imagine that one head is as " wise as another, and that the Tonsure does not alone " communicate virtue or abilities. The weakest part of " the community may be of opinion that a bare-footed " Carmelite stands no better chance for Heaven from his " mortifications, and even the Red Hat and Mantle may " fall into contempt. They may then tell us that our on- " ly power is founded on morality and virtue, and that " if we mean to preserve it, we should be particularly at- " tentive to the decency and propriety of our conduct."

We have just seen Leo indulging in society from which he could derive no rational entertainment, and Leo of all other persons had the least reason to have recourse to such miserable expedients.—With what great men was he not surrounded!—Many of them have been already mentioned, and as a number of these other illustrious ornaments of his Court survived him, they will be taken notice of hereafter.

Annibale Caro

To judge of the merit of Annibale Caro's Æneid, we should not bring it into comparison with the Æneid of Virgil, which overpowers every thing. We ought rather to consider it as an original itself, and the excel-

lence

lence of the Italian poem will be then allowed without any hesitation (a). This illustrious Knight of Malta substituted, however, a glittering tinsel for the pure gold of Virgil, and spread it over a new and vast surface. To translate a poem in exactly the same number of verses discovers little taste, but every licence ought to have its bounds, and many of the six thousand additional lines of Annibale Caro might be spared without injury to the remainder.

Whether Annibale Caro was the author of any original work is not now known.—In his letters indeed a few literary and historical anecdotes are to be found, yet they are such as may be met with in many other authors. His letters have been very highly spoken of, and are still considered as models of perfection.—A Cisalpine Reader, with little knowledge of Italian, would be greatly embarrassed to discover where this perfection lies, and to understand it, he must penetrate very far into the niceties of the language. It consists wholly in the delicacy of the style, and Annibale Caro, who was born in the district of Ancona, was the only foreigner that the Tuscans admit to have possessed the "Flower of Urbanity" of which they are so jealous.—Nothing attracted so much the attention of Italy, and that of Europe so little, as An-

(a) "Questa traduzione, considerata astratta dall' originale a un sapore delizioissimo d'originale ella stessa." *Martinelli.*

Annibale Caro's long disputes with Lodovico Castelvetro. The famous Canzona in honour of Francis the Ist, beginning with the

"Venite all' ombra de gran Gigli d' oro,"

was severely criticised by this Zoilus of Modena, and it occasioned a literary quarrel, in which every genius of the day took part.—A detail of this scandalous portion of local history has swollen under the hands of a writer of the country into a ponderous folio, and it finishes almost with a duel.—The Florentine prose writers are extremely minute and prolix.—Paulus Iovius (*b*) the historian, Bishop of Como and afterwards of Nocera, is an agreeable writer, but he is not always to be trusted, and of all historians he is the most prejudiced and venal. The account of his own times in Latin has elegance and purity, though it is written with such partiality as to make us doubt of every step that we advance without some other authority to rest on. His talents were in fact exposed to sale, and it is commonly said of him, that he had a pen of gold to blazon the characters of persons who paid him well, and one of iron to tear those to pieces when he had received no presents, or had taken

Paulus Iovius —Criticism on his works.

a

(*b*) Gianotti has severely censured this Prelate. "Delle istorie del Giovio mi pare che si ragioni, come di cosa scritta per buffoneria; e per dire il vero, la istoria del Guicciardino gli ha dato una gran bastonata. ——— Sono manifeste le sue bugie." *Lett. di Donato Giannotti al Varchi, P. 4. Pros. Fior.*

a dislike.—Francis the Ist settled on him a pension, and the French nation was afterwards as much applauded as it had been previously lampooned.—It is truly lamentable to see genius submit to such indignity, and sacrifice in this manner its reputation and its glory to sordid interest! To the Medici in particular this modern Velleius Paterculus seems to have prostituted his golden pen, and the Count Algarotti alludes to it in speaking of him by the expression "Divotissimo alle Palle," which his first translator misunderstood. The Torteaux or Golden Balls form a part of the arms of the House of Medici, and as often as a revolution happened in Florence, its friends cried out, "Palle, Palle,"—"Success to the Golden Balls!"

Balthazar Castiglione.

Count Balthazar Castiglione, in his treatise of the "Perfect Courtier," proposed for his model one of the Medici family nearly related to Leo the Xth. Castiglione had a different idea of the character to that of the Duke of Orleans, the Regent of France, who defined it by the "sans Honeur et Humeur,"—"without Honour "and without Humour."—Castiglione's courtier was an accomplished personage, in whom merit and politeness were equally apparent.—The modern attendant upon courts might study Castiglione to advantage, and extract some useful precepts from the mass, which is now of no farther use. What renders the work still interesting is the living picture of the manners of the little court of

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of Urbino, which for politeness and brilliancy was without an equal.—The Purists of "Della Crusca," in doing justice to the matter of this work, have found fault with the style, which pleases in spite of its prolixity.—But Castiglione was desirous of doing in prose what Dante had done before him in verse, and of writing in Italian, when the Italian was not the fashion.

Erasmus.

If Tuscany is now quitted for a little while, it is but for the purpose of making a few observations on the great men in Germany and France, cotemporaries of Leo the Xth and immediately connected with him.—Erasmus, the great Erasmus stands evidently at their head.—His edition of the works of St. Jerome, which cost him, as he declares, more pains than they had occasioned the author (*c*), was dedicated to Leo, and also his edition of his Greek and Latin Testaments. In the collection of his letters the correspondence between him and Leo is to be found, and he seems unfortunately to have been more attached to Leo's fortune and station than to his person. We see with regret the annihilation of every independent sentiment, with which this in other respects Free spirit approached the Roman Pontiff. "Who can "be at his ease," he asks, "in addressing an humble "epistle to one who surpasses as much other men as "they

(*c*) "Non verebor illud, Sancte Pater, vel jurejurando confirmare, minoris ipsi Hieronymo constitisse, suas scripsisse lucubrationes, quam nobis restituisse et illustrasse."

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"they are superior to the brute creation—who eclipses "us by the splendour of his majesty—who is, as it were "of a different nature, and a species of a present and visible divinity (*d*)."—Leo's favours had made such an impression on Erasmus that he might have managed him as he pleased. He contented himself with leaving him to follow his own inclinations, and neither interrupted him in his studies or attempted to influence him in his writings.—When Erasmus afterwards was oppressed by envy, and suffered from jealousy, he regretted he had not profited of Leo's kindness, and turned his friendship to more account (*e*).

Budæus.

The learning of Budæus was immense, and he was the first native of France, who was profoundly versed in the Greek language. By his unwearied industry he reduced the chaos of ancient learning respecting weights, measures, and coins into order (*f*), and many other parts of it were

(*d*) "Quis non metuat eum compellare litteris, qui quantò cæteri mortales pecudibus antecellunt, tantò ipse mortales universos majestate superat, et inter homines prorsus cæleste quoddam agit numen? ——— Optimo jure sibi gratulatur Orbis Christianus talem Leonem, in cujus ore reperit mundus plus quam melleam dulcedinem."

(*e*) "Leonis X propensus in me favor, quo utinam fuissem dexterius usus!"

(*f*) "Divinum opus DE ASSE. Librarum, sestertium, talentorum, totiusque rei nummariæ, ponderum, mensurarum, numeri, modi, vocabula Græca juxta ac Romana propter vetustatem obsoleverant. Hermolaus, Politianus et alii complures viri ingenio et doctrinâ præstantissimi rem tantam infeliciter adorti, propter obscuri-

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were illustrated with the same success. Erasmus, notwithstanding the differences between them, had a high opinion of his talents, and often said the French would be insufferably vain, if they knew the value of the treasure (*g*) they possessed.—During the lives of these two cotemporary scholars, they enjoyed an equal share of reputation, posterity has given the preference to Erasmus, from his talents and his services to mankind.—Leo's attachment to men of letters was so well known, that when Francis the Ist had an extraordinary point to carry with the See of Rome, he sent Budæus as his Minister, from the certainty that he was most likely to succeed with the Roman Pontiff.

John Reuchelin.

The celebrated John Reuchelin, who set out in life as a Fifer in the service of the Margrave of Baden, was a genius of the first rank, and a person generally esteemed in an age so full of great men.—Lorenzo de' Medici had shewn him every attention, and Reuchelin dedicated to Leo his Son his two books "De Verbo mirifico," and "De Cabalæ scientiæ placitis."—His greatest merit consisted in the restoration of Hebrew Literature, which had been totally neglected or forgotten by the Christians since the days of St. Jerome.

Not

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tatem tam honesto conatu destiterant: unus ad extremum huic parti ægrotæ ac propè desideratæ reperit medicinam." *Vita Budæi per L. Regium.*

(*g*) "O felicem Galliam! quas cristas tolleret, si suas opes ipsa nosset!" *De Budæo.*

Not a single publication has thrown such light on the ignorance and stupidity of Monks and Friars as the "Letters of Obscure Persons," composed on the subject of Reuchelin's disputes with the Monks of Cologne, who, with the exception of the Old Testament, had condemned all the Jewish works, and even their Treatises on Grammar, Physic, and History, to the flames.—These facetious letters were attributed to Reuchelin, but though he had some humour, and had wittily dissected the Religious in one of his Comedies, they came from a German of the name of Hutten, who composed most of them and procured the rest from his friends.—The festivity of the Macaronic Latin, in which they are written, loses itself in a translation, and to feel its force we must have recourse to the work itself.—On its first appearance every Convent was in immediate fermentation.—Cordeliers, Jacobins, Dominicans, Grey, Black, and White Friars, all sallied forth;—they wept—they caballed—and stated their grievances to the Holy Father, with prayers and supplications for redress.—Leo had laughed immoderately in private—in public he had a line to follow from which he could not deviate with propriety, and he directed the sale of the work to be stopped, though the mischief was already done. Hutten also eluded the effect of the suppression by the publication of a Supplement more caustic and severe, and the Monks, finding the wits against them, chewed the bit in secret, and were reduced to silence.—Simplicity and boldness distinguish these letters, and their poignancy is little short of that of Rabelais.

If

Cataneo Diacetto.

If Leo's reigning taste led him to the encouragement of Poetry and the "Belles Lettres," he did not neglect the Philosophers, or Philosophy, such as it was in his time.—Francesco Cataneo Diacetto, a celebrated disciple of Marsilio Ficino, was raised by his influence to the dignity of Gonfalonier of Florence.—Cataneo had profited so very happily of the lectures of his great master as to be one of the first Platonicians of his day.—We have a treatise by him on Platonic Love, but his treatise on "the Beautiful" is a Commentary on an obscure passage of the Grecian Philosopher.—To attempt an explanation of an obscure subject in still obscurer terms is what Boileau has wittily called "a double Gallimatias."—Yet Marsilio Ficino had conceived such an esteem for his disciple as to believe sincerely Providence had created him for the express purpose of supplying his place.

Augustus Nyphus.

Augustus Nyphus, the Calabrian, and the most celebrated Peripatetician of the age, was in such favour with Leo that he allowed him the privilege of adding to his arms those of the Medici family, and even to take its name. He was promoted likewise to the rank of a Palatine Count, a title on which the first personages in the Eastern and Western Empires once prided themselves. It was a mark of honour even in the sixteenth century, though it has since lost its dignity from being bestowed indiscriminately on almost every one that wishes for it.—There is a collection of the philosophical works of Nyphus, and the

the ingenuity and subtlety of the author are very visible, however we may be disposed to doubt or contradict his opinions.—In his treatise on Love, and the Beautiful, for he was desirous of exercising his abilities on the same subjects with Diacetto, he enters with so much imprudence or philosophical simplicity, into points so very indelicate, that it is astonishing a treatise of the kind should have been dedicated to a Female, and a Princess of the Colonna Family.—This Philosopher was supposed to have imbibed very strongly the singular and impious tenets of Averroes. The supposition, however, which appears well founded, did not deprive him of Leo's friendship or patronage.—He continued his regard for him, though he conceived it to be his duty to proscribe his sentiments, and to stop their progress by a bull, published during the Lateran Council in 1513, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the teaching the human soul was mortal, and ended with the life of man (*a*).

The

(*a*) "Cum diebus nostris zizaniæ seminator nonnullos perniciosissimos errores in agro Domini seminare, sit ausus, de naturâ præsertim animæ rationalis, quod videlicet mortalis sit, aut unica in cunctis hominibus, et nonnulli temerè philosophantes, secundum saltem Philosophiam verum esse asseverant; contra hoc approbante sacro Concilio, damnamus et reprobamus omnes asserentes, animam intellectivam mortalem esse, aut unicam in cunctis hominibus; aut hoc in dubium vertentes: cum illa non solum verè per se et essentialiter humani corporis forma existat, verum immortalis, et pro corporum, quibus infunditur, multitudine singulariter multiplicabilis, et multiplicata, et multiplicanda sit. Cumque verum vero minimè contradicat, omnem assertionem veritati illuminatæ contrariam omnino falsam esse definimus, et ut aliter dogmatizare non liceat, districtius jubemus. Omnesque hujusmodi erroris adstric-

The works of Averroës had been long in vogue throughout Italy, and his monstrous absurdities and errors had spread from one person to another, and corrupted the principal cities, where letters were the most cultivated.

The leading dogma of this famous Arabian Philosopher was the admission only of one intelligence, that animated, according to his system, every individual of the human race, and supplied the functions of a reasonable soul.—Averroes is generally acknowledged as the author of this opinion, though it is very clear that he only expanded the ancient and absurd doctrine which Virgil delivered with all the grace of the Mantuan Muse:

"Principio cælum et terras camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra

Spiritus

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tionibus inhærentes, velut damnatissimas hæreses seminantes per omnia, ut detestabiles et abominabiles Hæreticos et infideles, catholicam fidem labefactantes, vitandos et puniendos fore decrevimus. Insuper omnibus et singulis Philosophis in Universitatibus studiorum generalium, et alibi publicè legentibus districtè præcipiendo mandamus, ut cum Philosophorum principia aut conclusiones, in quibus a recta fide deviare noscuntur, auditoribus suis legerint, seu explicaverint, quale hoc de animæ mortalitate aut unitate, et mundi æternitate, ac alia hujusmodi, teneantur ejusdem veritatem religionis christianæ omni conatu manifestam facere; et persuadendo pro posse docere, ac omni studio Philosophorum argumenta pro viribus excludere ac resolvere. Ordinamus etiam, ne quis in sacris ordinibus constitutus philosophiæ aut poëseos studiis ultra quinquennium post grammaticam et dialecticam, sine aliquo studio theologiæ aut juris pontificii incumbat. Datum Romæ in publicâ sessione in Lateranensi S. S. Basilicâ solemniter celebratâ A°. 1513, 14 Kal. Jan. Pont. nostri A°. 1°."

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet (*b*)."

Averroism is in fact a qualified species of Spinosism, which excludes the morality of actions, the existence of the soul in a state of separation from the body, and the rewards and punishments of a future life, and consequently it cannot agree with any Religion whatever.—Stretching out on a false principle, the Arabian philosopher reasoned from it as if it had been an axiom that could not be disputed, and he has ridiculed every Religion without professing any.—Judaism was, with him, a Religion of obstinate and rebellious children—Mahometanism that of Beasts and Swine—and he profanely added, that of the Christians was of all the most senseless and absurd, as they swallowed their Deity (*c*).—It was in the University of Padua that Averroism prevailed the most, or rather reigned triumphantly.—Vernius, the preceptor of Nyphus, published a work towards the opening of the century, in Vernius.

(*b*) *Publii Virgilii Æneid. lib.* 6. 724—727.

(*c*) The observation affects only the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the Church of Rome, which has always exposed it to the sneer of the Infidel, and the more formidable objection of the Rational Believer.—*Ed. Albertinus*, "*de Euchar*[illegible] *lib.* 3. 972), tells us, that before the twelfth century the words "μεταβολης, [illegible], μεταρρυθμισις, μετασκευασμος, μεταστοιχειωσις," were unknown, and it was the Lateran Council in 1215, under Innocent the IIId, that established the belief of the real presence in the Lord's Supper.—I am indebted for this information to a Treatise of the learned Monsr. Dutens, who has given another mortal blow, if another mortal blow was necessary, to this tenet in his *Œuvres Melées*, (*seconde Partie*, *chap*. 5. 116), just published.

in which he had so beautifully described the system of the Arab, and supported it with such a plausibility that great part of Italy is said to have been seduced by it.—It is at least certain that the Porcii, the Achillini, and Pomponaci, and almost the whole numerous sect of Peripateticians, had drank freely of the poison.—At this day it is scarcely possible to conceive how a body of able men could adopt such extravagant opinions, and be dazzled or deluded by writings in a barbarous style, and such as at present would be disgustful.—How happy for the world would it be if Christianity had not been attacked in our days by more dangerous enemies, and more seductive authors!——Gaiety and galantry were as conspicuous in the character of Nyphus, as his ingenuity, his learning, and acuteness.—We may collect this trait from the Latin verses of one of his cotemporaries:

"Quid Nyphus an non melleus,
Perplexa suetus inter enthymemata
Et syllogismos frigidos,
Narrare suaves Atticasque fabulas,
Multumque risum spargere?
At quam venustum hoc, septuagenarium
Quod undulatis passibus,
Et curioso flexuosoque capite,
Saltare coram cerneres,
Modo Dorium, modo Phrygium, vel Lydium,
Amore saucium gravi?
Tractare sic philosophiam, arbitror
Summi fuisse Philosophi."

Is

Is it probable that Nyphus at his time of life was gay and gallant without being ridiculous and exposing himself?—Every thing in the world has two faces, and the Bishop of Como has formed a very different opinion of the hoary Philosopher:—" Susceptis liberis et senescente " uxore, septuagenarius senex, puellæ citra libidinem " impotenti amore correptus est usque ad insaniam, ita " ut plerique Philosophum senem atque podagricum ad " tibiæ modos saltantem, miserabili cum pudore con- " spexerint."

The Mathematical Sciences were little attended to or cultivated in this brilliant Pontificate, and there are only the traces of a single Geometrician (*c*) to be discovered, who was also an universal genius.—Geometry not being the principal foundation of his fame, the tribute due to his vast talents will be delayed for a few pages.—He deserved immortality, and he has found it!

(*c*) Leonardo da Vinci.

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CHAP. VIII.

PROGRESS of Painting—Rafaello—Criticism on his Style—His School of Athens—His Transfiguration—Criticism on Monsr. Falconnet—F. Sebastiano del Piombo—Giulio Romano—Perrino del Vaga—Rafaello del Colle—Penni—Polidoro Carvaggi—Giovanni da Udine—Leonardo da Vinci—His Holy Supper—F. Bartolomeo della Porta—Pietro di Cosimo—Andrea del Sarto Architecture—Bramante—Lazzare d'Urbino—Baltassare Perucci—Sansovino—Sculpture—Rustici—Engraving—Marco Antonio—Ugo di Carpi—Piero Maria da Peschia—Michelino—Giovanni da Castel—Valerio—Vincentino—Matteo dal Massaro—Domenico di Polo—Ludovico Anichini—Alessandro Cesare—Giuliano de' Medici, the brother of Leo the Xth—His Death and Character—Lucrezia de' Medici—Cardinal Salviati—Bernardo Salviati—Maddalena de' Medici—Contesina de' Medici.

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WHILST Science, Letters, and the ancient Philosophy flourished under the shelter of Leo's patronage, he had the satisfaction to see the Arts, those other children of Genius, arrive at the summit of glory, and modern Italy rival ancient Greece.—Under his enlightened eyes, Rafaello the sovereign of Painters (*a*) animated the canvass with his heavenly figures.—Grace more enchanting than beauty fell from his pencil.—Purity of design, grandeur of ideas, simplicity in the characters of his heads, elegance of form, and great judgment in the choice of his figures,

Progress of Painting.

Rafaello—Criticism on his Style.

(*a*) " Mostrò Raffaele nel corso de suoi pochi anni, che qualche bellezza a gli stessi Grechi aggiugner si potes." *Lettera di Giampier Zannotti.*

figures, his draperies, and groups marked in a wonderful manner the productions of his own sublime abilities assisted by a study of the most exquisite beauties of nature. —Yet with all these eminent advantages Rafaello is not to be considered as a perfect painter, such as the world has never seen and may never see.—Some of his rivals have even surpassed him in a few essential parts of their art.—His ingenious style of drapery and expression of the "Nud" without affectation, was not borrowed from any known custom or any mode of dress which belonged to any distinct nation. The great effects of the clear obscure, and a knowledge of the playfulness of light seem to have been too much neglected by him, and he does not appear to have penetrated sufficiently into that style of Forward colouring which renders every object exact and sensible, and gives a complete imitation of them. His colouring was also careless, but in all probability, though he did not always attend to it, he was fully master of it, as an excellent judge has spoken in raptures of one of his pictures, which was equal to the most finished piece of the Venetian School (*b*).—On the whole his beauties will rather astonish the connoisseur than captivate a common observer.

Rafaello's

(*b*) "Tra i molti ritratti di Raffaële fatti di sua mano, il più bello è quello ch'egli fece da se allo specchio per darlo a Bindo Altoviti ——— questo ritratto, per quel che riguarda il colorito, è il più bel quadro, che io abbia veduto di Raffaële, e le tinte non cedono alle più fiere e le più vive di qualsivoglia pittura di Tiziano; e ora si conserva nel palazzo de' Signori Altoviti in Borgo degli Albizi di Firenze."

Bottari.

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Rafaello's school of Athens or the speech in the Areopagus, has been reckoned in our days as the first model for a grand subject in a noble and scientific style. His last work the Transfiguration "in Montorio," a picture almost as well known as Virgil's Æneid, was carried in procession at his funeral (*c*).

His School of Athens.

His Transfiguration.

With all the esteem due to one of the first sculptors (*d*) of the present age, who has employed his long nights and leisure hours at Petersburg in a commentary on the three Books of Pliny, his contemptuous treatment of this master-piece of art justifies some censure and merits some indignation. As this picture is generally known, he observes, it is only necessary to ask what opinion the Public would now entertain of an artist, who divided his composition in such a manner, that one half of it had no connection with the other, and the principal subject was placed like an episode of no great consequence, and was even difficult to be discovered.—The Apostles, to whom the young Demoniac is brought, are at the bottom of the piece, and they are so occupied with his visit as to be totally unconcerned at and to turn their backs on one of the most extraordinary prodigies though close to them, on a little trifling ascent without any resemblance to the mountain (*e*) of

Criticism on Mr. Falconnet.

(*c*) "La quale opera, nel vedere il corpo morto, e quella viva, faceva scoppiare l'anima di dolore o ognuno." *Vasari.*

(*d*) Monsr. Falconnet.

(*e*) Ανεβη εις το ΟΡΟΣ. *Evangel. Luc. c.* 9. 28.

of the Evangelist. Two of the disciples may indeed be discovered pointing at the miracle without looking at it, and they suggest the idea of being satiated with transfigurations. Each may be supposed to say to his Brother, "I have seen the Sun very often, let us look at "this little Devil."— Yet Demoniacs were more common than transfigurations.—The honest persons who bring the boy seem not to perceive the adjoining splendour, that ought to have dazzled them, for they are looking up, and they appear to be intent only on their errand. In short, there are two subjects, without connection, and Rafaello in spite of Scripture seems to have been desirous of representing them in the same picture, at the same instant, and in the same point of view. The picture has been called Rafaello's Master-piece.—What are the merits of its title?—Are they in the design?—that is weak and feeble.—Do they consist in the composition? —we may judge at once of its impropriety.—Are they founded in poetical conception?—there is not a corner in which there is not an absurdity or contradiction.—The Apostles are undoubtedly using every effort to expel the demon, but they ought not to have been there, and notwithstanding the uncommon beauty of the bottom of the picture, the inconsistency is still revolting.

The little connection between the two parts of the picture is an observation that has been long made. At the first view it appears specious, though it is but specious,

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ous, and nothing is more easy than to defend Rafaello. It would be absurd to suppose the Apostles could have long been inattentive to the miracle of the Transfiguration, or not been wholly taken up with it, but we must recollect that an artist can only represent a single indivisible moment. In that moment the attention of the Disciples was arrested by the howls and frightful convulsions of the Demoniac, and they were eager to relieve him. This is the precise instant chosen by the painter, the objection therefore vanishes, and there is not a single reproach that he deserves.

Mr. Falconnet has omitted to observe three Disciples fallen to the ground in astonishment at the miracle and dazzled by the rays of glory (*f*) with which their Divine Master was surrounded. These three disciples in their attitude upon the ground certainly connect the upper and lower parts of the picture. The Critic proceeds to remark, " that within these last few years the Transfiguration was taken down to be copied in Mosaic, and " many

(*f*) " Sono in terra postrati Pietro, Jacopo, e Giovanni in varie, e belle attitudini. Chi ha a terra il capo, e chi con fare ombra agli occhi con le mani si difende da' raggi, e dalla immensa luce dello splendore di Cristo." (*Vasari, tom.* 3. 83, 84.). Vasari has entered at large into the collection of Rafaello's works, and describes their merit in a very forcible manner: "trema la carne, vedesi lo spirito, battono i sensi alle figure sue e vivacità viva vi si scorge."—The lines on his St. Cæcilia are well known.

> " Pingant sola alii, referantque coloribus ora;
> Cæciliæ os Raphael, atque animum explicuit."

"many of the figures that appeared so charming at a dis- "tance, were discovered on a nearer inspection to be so "badly executed as not to be believed to have been Ra- "faello's, and that the superior powers forbad the secret "to be revealed." An artist of M^r. Falconnet's abilities could not be ignorant of what all the world knows, that a picture painted to have effect at a certain distance is not to be examined close to the eye, where its very excellencies would be defects. In a great picture, and at a great distance, the fine strokes of a miniature would be both useless and absurd.—The anecdote respecting the superior powers is extraordinary.—Books after books and pamphlets after pamphlets have been written in Italy on the fine arts, and not a syllable has dropped upon the subject. It is not indeed probable, and if these defects had been discovered the laborious and expensive enterprise of copying the picture in Mosaic would have been abandoned, which is only just finished.

From Rafaello's characteristic qualities, which distinguished him from the rest of the profession, he was called the Virgil of Painting, and since his time the first school has been that of Rome. In the celebrated pictures in the Vatican of Attila, the seige of Ostia by the Saracens, King Pepin, and the coronation of Charlemagne, he has represented St. Leo, Leo the IIId, Stephen the IId, and Leo the IVth, under the likeness and features of Leo the Xth.—When Rafaello died, it was said,

said, he was on the point of being made a Cardinal (*f*).— The Red Hat, and even the Pontifical Tiara, if he could have arrived at that dignity, would not have been his brightest crown!

F. Sebastiano del Piombo.

F. Sebastiano del Piombo, a Venetian, had for some time the temerity to attempt to rival Rafaello. His style has more of the Florentine manner than the Venetian. The lucrative employment, from which he had the name of "Piombo," instead of stimulating his genius, had a contrary effect. As he grew rich, he grew indolent or idle, and forgot that the first business of a painter is to paint.

Giulio Romano.

In the works of Giulio Romano, Rafaello's illustrious disciple (*g*), can we sufficiently admire his great correctness, grandeur of composition, sublimity and fire? They have ever formed, and will ever be the delight of the connoisseur!

In

(*g*) "Avendo tanti anno servito la Corte, ed essendo creditore di Leone di buona somma, gli era stato dato indizio, che alla fine della sala, che per lui faceva, in ricompensa delle fatiche, e delle virtù sue, il Papa gli avrebbe dato un cappello rosso, avendo già deliberato di farne un buon numero, e fra essi qualcuno di manco merito, che Raffaello non era." *Vasari, tom.* 3. 87.

(*h*) Giulio Romano was Rafaello's favourite disciple, "il quale sempre amò molto," and not less distinguished by his talents than his moral character. "Fra i molti, anzi infiniti discepoli di Raffaello da Urbino, de' quali la maggior parte riuscirono valenti, niuno ve n' ebbe, che più lo imitasse nella maniera, invenzione, diseg-

CHAP. VIII.

Perrino del Vaga—Rafaello del Colle.—Penni.

In Perrino del Vaga and Rafaello del Colle, two Florentines, there is more sweetness than force!—Their countryman Penni surnamed "il Fattore" from his expedition, painted landscapes with great taste and judgment.

Polidoro Carvaggi.

Giovanni da Udine.

Polidoro Carvaggi, not one of whose pictures is now remaining, had even the reputation of excelling his master in fertility of invention (*i*).—Giovanni da Udine, in the representation of animals, was the first of Rafaello's scholars, and Leo the Xth employed him to paint his scarce and valuable collection.—In digging amongst the ruins of the Baths of Titus some subterranean apartments were discovered, whose walls were ornamented with little chimerical and imaginary figures. Giovanni da Udine,

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no, e colorito, di Giulio Romano ——— egli fu dolcissimo nella conversazione, gioviale, affabile, grazioso, e tutto pieno d' ottimi costumi; le quali parti furono cagione ch' egli fu di maniera amato da Raffaello, che se gli fusse stato figliuolo, non più l' arebbe potuto amare. ——— Fu Giulio di statura nè grande, nè piccolo, più presto compresso, che leggieri di carne, di pel nero, di bella faccia, con occhio nero, e allegro, amorevolissimo, costumato in tutte le sue azioni, parco nel mangiare, e vago di vestire, e vivere onoratamente. ——— Morì Giulio l' anno 1546, il giorno di tutti i Santi, e sopra la sua sepoltura fu posto questo epitaffio:

Romanus moriens secum tres Julius arteis
Abstulit (haud mirum) quatuor unus erat."

Vasari, tom. 3. 324—339.

(*i*) "Le sue pitture sono tutte o quasi tutte perite. ——— Questo eccellentissimo artefice ha nell' invenzione superato la parer di molti Raffaello stesso." *Bottari.*

ne, struck with their beauty, began to copy them (*a*), and as they were found in a kind of Grotto, they were called Grotesque. By repeated experiments he acquired the art of making the stucco, of which they were composed, and adding a number of similar figures from his own imagination, he embellished with them by the Pope's orders several rooms in the Vatican, but of his labours there are no remains (*b*).

A view has been now taken of Rafaello's school.—Titian, the great luminary of Venice, never settled at Rome, though he often visited it during Leo's reign and the succeeding one.—Leo honoured him as he deserved.—Titian's great excellence consists in the harmony of his tints, and his beautiful light and skies, which are above all praise. In his carnations Nature is so exactly copied, that the blood even seems to flow.

> " Les dons sont partagés, la Nature bizare,
> Jusques dans ses faveurs parait encore avare,
> Et lorsqu' elle sourit de ses yeux complaisans,
> Ne verse qu'à demi l'urne de ses présens (*c*)."

The

(*a*) Great part of them were published at Rome under the following title: " Picturæ Antiquæ. Folio Roma, 1751."

(*b*) " Queste grottesche e stucchi, fatte nelle Logge Vaticane sono cotanto guaste, che ne rimane poco più, che i contorni." *Bottari.*

(*c*) La Mierre.

CHAP. VIII.

Leonardo da Vinci.

The whole urn was poured out to the last drop on Leonardo da Vinci's cradle.—With the finest and most imposing figure he had the noblest heart.—Naturalist, Geometrician, Botanist, Sculptor, Painter, Musician, Poet, Improvisatore—this favourite of Heaven had all these talents in perfection.—In addition to all these accomplishments, Leonardo da Vinci was an excellent horseman, danced with the greatest elegance, and in the science of arms was particularly excellent. His strength and force were uncommon, and he twisted a horse-shoe as easily as if it had been composed of lead.—Ludovico Sforza, a great judge of merit, and who always acted for the public interest when it was not his own to act otherwise, prevailed on Leonardo da Vinci to settle at Milan, where he placed him at the head of the newly erected Academy of Painting and Sculpture.—Twelve precious volumes of his manuscripts are preserved at Milan (*d*), which are considered

(*d*) In the Ambrosian Library there is the following inscription:

LEONARDO . VINCI
MANV . ET . INGENIO . CELEBERRIMI
LVCVBRATIONVM . VOLVMINA . XII
HABES . O . CIVIS
GALEAZ . ARCONATVS
INTER . OPTIMATES . TVOS
BONARVM . ARTIVM . CVLTOR . OPTIMVS
REPVDIATIS . REGIO . ANIMO
QVOS. ANGLIAE . REX . PRO . VNO . OFFEREBAT
AVREIS . TER . MILLE . HISPANIS
NE . TIBI . TANTI . VIRI . DEESSET . ORNAMENTVM
BIBLIOTHECAE . AMBROSIANAE . CONSECRAVIT
NE . TANTI . LARGITORIS . DEESSET . MEMORIA

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considered as invaluable, though the greatest part consists in bare sketches, sometimes of a figure, and sometimes of an instrument or machine, with a short note annexed to it. There is also an explication of the leaden colour of the new Moon, which has been attributed to others; an explanation of the relief in painting; some observations on the deception from looking at any object with only one eye; and he suggests that white is not a colour in itself, but a mixture of all the others, which has been since confirmed by the Newtonian experiments.

A noble Venetian, who proposed a few years ago to establish an Academy at Venice, used to say that he only wished for a catalogue of the best pictures, plaster casts of the best Grécian statues, a Camera Obscura, and Leonardo da Vinci's Treatise upon Painting.

Practically speaking, this great genius excelled particularly in expression. There was a wonderful relief in all his works; his abilities extended even to the minutest parts of them, and his Children had a grace upon their countenances which Nature did but equal, without surpassing.

QVEM . SANGVIS . QVEM . MORES
MAGNO . FEDERICO . FVNDATORI
ADSTRINGVNT
BIBLIOTHECAE . CONVERSATORES
POSVERE
ANNO . MDCCXXXVII.

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passing.—Prodigious vivacity was joined in him to prodigious patience, and he gave the first example in the art of the effects of unwearied assiduity and strenuous exertion. Unfortunately the importunate idea of perfection, a goading fury to great genius, left him not a single moment at rest; and many exquisite performances were thrown into the flames because they did not reach his own imaginary standard. From this reason so few of his pictures are now left.

The History of the celebrated Holy Supper in the Refectory of the Dominicans at Milan is singular and curious. If its loss was formerly lamented by every writer on the art, the connoisseur may now congratulate himself on its restoration. The following is an authentic account of it, extracted from the Report made by the Prior of the Convent to the Princes Corsini, when they passed through Milan.

His Holy Supper.

"Da Vinci painted the Holy Supper about the end of "the fifteenth century.—The French having taken Milan "could not carry away the picture as it was in Fresco, "but they had it twice copied, and one copy is in the "Church of St. Germain's Auxerrois at Paris, and the "other, which is the better, in the Chapel of Ecouen, "that once belonged to the Constable Anne de Montmorenci.—Lomazzo copied it a third time, and his copy "is in the Church of St. Barnaba at Milan. The ori-

"ginal

"ginal, after near a century, was so much faded and de-
"cayed, that the Religious believed it impossible to be
"restored, and that it was consequently of no value.
"Desirous however of enlarging the door of the Refec-
"tory, they broke into the picture, and cut off a leg of
"one of the Apostles.—It continued in this state till the
"year 1726, when the ingenious Angelo Belloti offered
"to restore it. The Monks did not suppose it to be pos-
"sible, but as Belloti persisted in his proposal, and no-
"thing could be lost by the attempt, they submitted to
"the experiment. He succeeded to their astonishment,
"and the picture in its present state seems to have suffer-
"ed only very little in its colouring, and the damage of
"one of its figures (*e*)."—The very incorrect print of
Peter Soutman the younger is after Lomazzo, but there
are

(*e*) "Quantunque non si sappia precisamente quanto tempo impiegasse L. da V.
nella celebre dipintura da esso fatta nel refettorio de' PP. Domenicani del Convento
delle Grazie di questa città; si sà però di certo, che egli nel 1497 attualmente la
dipingeva. —— Una si pregevole dipintura, come ognuno sa, circa un secolo
dopo era quasi smarrita; e col succeder degli anni talmente s'era guasta, che per-
duta forse qualunque speranza di riacquistarla; nè curando più tanto tesoro, pen-
sarono i religiosi del mentovato convento di alzare e dilatare la porta del medesimo
rifettorio, la quale era bassa ed angusta; e per tal cagione tagliando il muro, hanno
tagliate le gambe ed i piedi all' immagine, che stà nel mezzo di Gesù Christo, e
degli apostoli a lui vicini, come in fatti di presente si vede. Finalmente per buona
sorte l'anno 1726 vi fù il Sign. Mich. Agnolo Bellotti, pittore Milanese, che con
un suo particolare segreto si esibì di ricavare fuori un altra volta la sopradetta dipin-
tura. Il P. Priore e gli altri religiosi del medesimo convento graziosamente accet-
tando la sua esibizione, e fatta fare con prospero successo in alcuna parte della stessa
dipintura la sperienza del segreto, affidarono del tutto al detto eccellente dipintore
l'impresa, nella quale, siccome ognuno ora vede, felicemente ne riuscì. ——
Esso Sign. Bellotti con molta sua finezza comunicò a Padri sudetti per ogni evento
il segreto."

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are very few engravings of any kind from Leonardo da Vinci.—Hollar has left a few, and he has introduced into them conceits of his own which reduce their value.

Leonardo da Vinci projected the junction of the two canals which conduct the waters of the Adda and Tesino to Milan, by the means of sluices, the mechanism of which had been discovered before his time.—After the catastrophe in which his patron Ludovico Sforza had been involved, he returned to Florence, and by one of those fatalities which seem due to accident, he escaped the notice of Leo the Xth, and this great Mecænas did not receive the advantage from him that was within his reach.—Leonardo da Vinci, solicited by Francis the Ist, quitted his country for France, and soon after his arrival at the Court of Fontainbleau he fell sick. Francis the Ist paid him a visit in person, and Leonardo da Vinci rising up to receive his august visitant with more respect, expired within the Monarch's arms (*f*).

The

(*f*) Vasari has left the following splendid character of him: " Grandissimi doni si veggono piovere dagl' infiussi celesti ne' corpi umani molte volte naturalmente e sopranaturali tal volta: e strabocchevolmente accozzarsi in un corpo solo, bellezza, grazia, e virtù in una maniera, che dovunque si volge quel tale, ciascuna sua azione è tanto divina, che lasciandosi dietro tutti gli altri uomini, manifestamente si fa conoscere per cosa (come ella è) largita da Dio, e non acquistata per arte umana. Questo lo videro gli uomini in Lionardo da Vinci, nel quale, oltre la bellezza del corpo non lodata mai abbastanza, era la grazia più che infinita in qualunque sua azione; e tanta, e sì fatta poi la virtù, che dovunque l'animo volse nelle cose difficili, con facilità le rendeva assolute. La forza in lui fu molta, e congiunta con la destrezza: l'animo, e 'l valore sempre regio, e magnanimo: e la fama del suo

The news of Leonardo da Vinci's death, and of the French King's grief, circulated through Europe, and the jealous

nome tanto s' allargò, che non solo nel suo tempo fu tenuto in pregio, ma pervenne ancora molto più ne' posteri dopo la morte sua.

Verameme mirabile, e celeste fu Lionardo figliuolo di Ser Piero da Vinci; e nella erudizione, e principi delle lettere arabe fatto profitto grande, s' egli non fosse stato tanto vario, ed instabile. Perchè egli si mise a imparare molte cose, e cominciate poi l' abbandonava. Ecco, nell' abbaco egli in pochi mesi, ch' ei v' attese, fece tanto acquisto, che movendo di continuo dubbi, e difficultà al maestro, che gl' insegnava, bene spesso lo confondeva. Dette alquanto d' opera alla musica, ma tosto si risolvè imparare a sonare la lira, come quelli, che dalla Natura avea spirito elevatissimo, e pieno di leggiadria, onde sopra quella cantò divinamente all' improvviso. Nondimeno, bench' egli a sì varie cose attendesse, non lasciò mai il disegnare, ed il fare di relievo, come cose, che gli andavano a fantasia più d' alcun' altra. Veduto questo Ser Piero, e considerato la elevazione di quell' ingegno, preso un giorno alcuni de' suoi disegni, gli portò ad Andrea del Verrocchio, ch' era molto amico suo, e lo pregò strettamente, che gli dovesse dire, si Lionardo attendendo al disegno, farebbe alcun profitto. Stupì Andrea nel veder il grandissimo principio di Lionardo, e confortò Ser Piero, che lo facesse attendere; ond' egli ordinò con Lionardo, ch' ei dovesse andare a bottega d' Andrea; il che Lionardo fece volentieri oltre modo. E non solo esercitò una professione, ma tutte qu[illegible], ove il disegno interveniva."

" Finalmente venuto vecchio, stette molti mesi ammalato, e vedendosi vicino alla morte, si volse diligentemente informare delle cose cattoliche, e della via buona, e santa religione cristiana, e poi con molti pianti confesso, e contrito, sebbene ei non poteva reggersi in piedi, sostenendosi nelle braccia de' suoi amici, e servi, volle divotamente pigliare il Santissimo Sacramento fuor del letto. Soppraggiunseli il Re, che spesso, e amorevolmente lo soleva visitare, per il che egli per riverenza rizzatosi a sedere sul letto, contando il mal suo, e gli accidenti di quello, mostrava tuttavia, quanto aveva offeso Dio, e gli uomini del Mondo, non avendo operato nell' arte, come si conveniva. Onde gli venne un parosismo messaggiero della morte, per la qual cosa rizzatosi il Re, e presagli la testa per aiutarlo, e porgerli favore, acciocchè il male lo alleggerisce; lo spirito suo, che divinissimo era, conoscendo non potere avere maggior onore, spirò in braccio a quel Re, nell' età sua d' anni 75.

Dolse la perdita di Lionardo fuor di modo a tutti quelli che l' avevano conosciuto, perchè mai non fu persona, che tanto facesse onore alla pittura. Egli con lo splendor dell' aria sua, che bellissima era, rasserenava ogni animo mesto; e con le parole volgeva al sì, e al nò ogn' indurata intenzione. Egli con le forze sue rite-

jealous Charles the Vth immediately began to collect every piece from Titian's pencil. Yet this temporary Quixotism is not to be compared with the regular and generous protection Francis the Ist afforded during his whole life to the Arts and Letters.—To this solid and lasting glory the Emperor preferred the weak and frivolous reputation of being the terror of three or four quarters of the world, and the original of the Pierocide of Rabelais.—His memory has suffered by it.—His exploits—his activity—his power—his victories—and his genius may dazzle, whilst his amiable rival interests the heart.—We are in love with his great and good qualities in private life, and Europe contemplates Francis the Ist with the eyes of Madame d'Etampes!

F. Barto-

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neva ogni violenta furia, e con la destra torceva un ferro d' una campanella di muraglia, e un ferro di cavallo, come s' ei fosse piombo. Con la liberalità sua raccoglieva, e pasceva ogni amico povero, e ricco, pur ch' egli avesse ingegno, e virtù. Ornava, ed onorava con ogni azione qualsivoglia disonorata, e spogliata stanza; per il che ebbe veramente Fiorenza grandissimo dono nel nascere di Lionardo, e perdita più che infinita nella sua morte. Nell' arte della pittura aggiunse costui alla maniera del colorire ad olio una certa oscurità, donde hanno dato i moderni gran forza, e relievo alle loro figure. E nella statuaria fece prove nelle tre figure di bronzo, che sono sopra la porto di S. Giovanni dalla parte di tramontana, fatte da Gio. Francesco Rustici, ma ordinate col consiglio di Lionardo, le quali sono il più bel getto, e di disegno, e di perfezione, che modernamente si sia ancor visto. Da Lionardo abbiamo la notomia de' cavalli, e quella degli uomini assai più perfetta; laonde per tante parti sue si divine, ancora che molto più operasie con le parole, che co' fatti, il nome, e la fama sua non si spegneranno giammai. Per il che fu detto in lode sua da Messer Gio. Batista Strozzi così:

Vince costui pur solo
 Tutti altri, e vince Fidia, e vince Apelle,
 E tutto il lor vittorioso stuolo."

* *Vasari, tom.* 3. 12—33. *4to. Firenze,* 1771.

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F. Bartolomeo della Porta.

F. Bartolomeo della Porta, the friend and brother Monk of Savonarola, was the Tuscan Painter commonly called "Il Frate."—The St. Mark, in the Pitti Palace, is alone sufficient to establish his character.—Every thing which constitutes the great Painter is visible, and he knew how to blend the sweetness of Rafaello with the majesty "alla terribil via" of Michelagnolo. To the former indeed he gave lessons, and the disciple was worthy of the master.—Few of "Il Frate's" works are now existing, but they who judge of pictures by their excellence, and not by number, will ever reckon "Il Frate" a first-rate Painter.—The Editor of the Dresden Gallery has given a picture of "Il Frate" to Correggio (*a*).—If this mistake is not an error of the impression it is inexcusable, for the styles of these two great men are very different.

Pietro di Cosimo.

Florence possessed likewise Pietro di Cosimo, remarkable for the original oddity of his productions, and amongst them the mysterious triumphal Masquerade, which was intended to prognosticate the restoration of Leo the Xth and the Medici family at Florence.—It was in the last year of the Magistracy of the Gonfalonier Soderini that this dismal spectacle was exhibited.—In the Carnival, and in the night of its greatest festivity, the citizens

(*a*) N°. I. of the Plates.

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tizens gazed in horrid silence on this frightful scene, as it passed along the streets.—It consisted of a black funeral car (*b*), on which were painted white crosses, and dead men's

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(*b*) "Era il trionfo un carro grandissimo tirato da bufoli tutto nero, e dipinto d' ossa di morti, e di croci bianche, e sopra il carro era una Morte grandissima in cima, con la falce in mano, ed aveva in giro al carro molti sepolcri col coperchio; ed in tutti que' luoghi, che il trionfo si fermava a cantare, s' aprivano, e uscivano alcuni vestiti di tela nera, sopra la quale erano dipinte tutte le ossature di morto nelle braccia, petto, rene, e gambe, che il bianco spiccava sopra quel nero, ed apparendo di lontano alcune di quelle torce con maschere, che pigliavano col teschio di morto il dinanzi, e 'l di dietro, e parimente la gola, oltre al parere cosa naturalissima, era orribile, e spaventosa a vedere; e questi morti, al suono di certe trombe sorde, e con suon roco, e morto, uscivano mezzi di que' sepolcri, e sedendovi sopra cantavano in musica, piena di malinconia, quella oggi nobilissima canzone:

Dolor, pianto, e penitenza, &c.

Era innanzi, e dietro al carro gran numero di morti a cavallo, sopra certi cavalli con somma diligenza scelti de' più secchi, e più strutti, che si potessero trovare, con covertine nere piene di croci bianche e ciascuno aveva quattro staffieri vestiti da morti, con torce nere, ed uno stendardo grande nero, con croci, ed ossa, e teste di morto. Appresso al trionfo si strascinava dieci stendardi neri, e mentre camminavano con voci tremanti, ed unite, diceva quella compagnia il Miserere, salmo di David.

Questo duro spettacolo, per la novità, come ho detto, e terribilità sua, mise terrore, e maraviglia insieme in tutta quella città; e sebbene non parve nella prima giunta cosa da carnovale, nondimeno per una certa novità, e per essere accomodato tutto benissimo, satisfece agli animi di tutti; e Piero Autore, ed inventore di tal cosa, ne fu sommamente lodato, e commendato, e fu cagione, che poi di mano in mano si seguitasse di fare cose spiritose, e d' ingegnosa invenzione; che in vero per tali soggetti, e per condurre simili feste, non ha avuto questa città mai paragone, ed ancora in que' vecchi, che lo videro, ne rimane viva memoria, nè si saziano di celebrar questa capricciosa invenzione. Sentii dire io ad Andrea di Cosimo, che fu con lui a fare questa opera, ed Andrea del Sarto, che fu suo discepolo, e vi si trovò anch' egli, che fu opinione in quel tempo, che questa invenzione fusse fatta per significare la tornata della Casa de' Medici del 12. in Firenze, perchè allora che questo trionfo si fece, erano esuli, e come dire morti, che dovessino in breve resuscitare, ed a questo fine interpetravano quelle parole, che sono nella canzone,

Morti siam, come vedete,
Così morti vedrem voi;

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men's bones. It was drawn by four buffaloes, and a ghastly figure with a scythe sat upon it.—This figure represented Death, and had at its feet graves opening, out of which skeletons were continually issuing.—Many hundred persons, clothed in black, with masks resembling Death's heads, marched before it, as well as followed it, with lighted flambeaux in their hands. The lights were so well regulated, and fell so exactly on the car and the procession, that the whole appeared very natural. Numbers of other masks, not less frightful, mounted on the poorest horses that could be found, with black housings trailing on the ground, carried standards of black taffety, embroidered with crossed bones and tears. The skeletons, in trembling and mournful voices, sung penitential Psalms, with the Miserere, and the instrumental music corresponding with the vocal, added to the melancholy and petrifying spectacle. The car and the procession stopped before the Palace of the Gonfalonier Soderini and those of the principal citizens, apparently to do them honour, and the skeletons immediately began the chorus of

" Morti siam', come vedete;
Così morti vedrem' voi:

Fummo

Fummo già, come voi sete,
Voi sarete come noi, &c.

Volendo accennare la ritornata loro in casa, e quasi come una resurrezione da morte a vita, e la cacciata, ed abbassamento de' contrari loro: o pure, che fusse, che molti dall' effetto, che seguì della tornata in Firenze di quella illustrissima Casa, come son vaghi gl' ingegni umani d' applicare le parole, ed ogn' atto, che nasce prima, agli effetti che seguon poi, che gli fu dato questa interpretazione."

Vasari, tom. 3. 22, 23.

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Fummo già, come voi sete,
Voi sarete come noi (*c*)."

To suppose this melancholy masquerade to have been a mere Carnival amusement would be idle and ridiculous. Exclusive of its singularity, so ill adapted to a season of general gaiety, all the writers of the age unanimously assert that it originated with the friends of the Medici, who, submitting with impatience to their long exile, and seeing a ray of hope that announced the restoration of the family, meant to signify by this sepulchral triumph the death of their enemies, and a civil resurrection to themselves.

Andrea del Sarto.

Andrea del Sarto (*d*), the disciple of Pietro di Cosimo, was one of the greatest painters, and undoubtedly the greatest colourist, without exception, of the Florentine school. —His drawing was very correct, and there was such purity in

(*c*) The substance of this ghostly chorus may be found in the humble poetry of almost every village church-yard.—The Dead have lived their Day—Ours is now fleeting—

"——— omnes una manet nox
Et calcanda semel via leti."

(*d*) One of his grateful scholars placed a tablet in the Church de' Servi to his memory, with the inscription—

"ANDREA SARTIO
Admirabilis ingenii Pictori, ac veteribus illis omnium judicio
Comparando.
Dominicus Contes Discipulus pro laboribus in se instituendo susceptis
Grato animo posuit.
Vixit ann. xiii. ob. A. MDXXX."

in all his works that he had the name of "Andrea senza "errore"—Andrew without faults.—His colouring had vast softness and harmony, and perhaps no painter better understood the art of drapery.—If he had any defect it was a want of force and grandeur; but it is in his own native city and not at Rome that we ought to study him, and estimate his talents. The Madonna del Sacco passes for his master-piece, and if any other of his works has any pretensions to the character it is doubtless Abraham's Sacrifice, where there is a degree of dignity and grandeur far superior to his general style.—Some years ago the Prince of Orange got possession of this delicious picture, which the late King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, had purchased of the Duke of Modena, and from the Dresden Gallery it travelled into the Stadtholder's Cabinet.—Its early history has been transmitted to us by Vasari and Baldinucci, and deserves to be related.—Andrea del Sarto's indiscretion and misconduct had irritated Francis the Ist against him, and the artist on his return to Florence finished the picture in question as a peace-offering to the French Monarch. Notwithstanding his passion for the works of Andrea del Sarto, Francis the Ist would not receive it, and the Painter dying soon afterwards, Filippo Strozzi purchased it, and made a present of it to Alphonso D'Avalos, Marquis de Guasto, who carried it to the island of Ischia near Naples. It was afterwards presented by the Marquis to his master the King of Spain, and from Madrid it returned to Flo-

rence. One of the Grand Dukes gave it to the Duke of Modena, and from Modena it passed to Dresden and the Hague. Its travels and its change of masters are certainly extraordinary, and Signor Bottari insists more than one circumstance in its history by the two writers is improbable.—He cannot conceive how the King of Spain could consent to part with a picture of such value, and still more how the Medici Family, which instead of reducing its collection regularly increased it, and bought at any price the works of Andrea del Sarto, could have been induced to give up a picture of this master that must have been one of its most inestimable acquisitions. It may possibly be an excess of extravagance to suspect the originality of the picture at the Hague, which came without doubt both out of the Cabinet at Dresden, and that of Modena, though a conjecture may be hazarded if Andrea del Sarto did not more than once repeat the same subject.—Scannelli (*e*), an Italian Author, believes the heads of Abraham and Isaac were copied from those of the Laocoon and one of his Sons, but the resemblance is not very striking.—Louis Surugue the elder engraved his beautiful plate after a drawing in which the great master's manner had not been sufficiently kept in view.

Architecture.

Quitting the pencil and the pallet, Architecture will now claim some attention.—Julius the IId, the predecessor

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(*e*) *Microcosmo. p.* 174.

sor of Leo the Xth, thought the Cathedral of St. Peter's too small and insignificant, and proposed, amongst his other great projects, the construction of a new one.—Bramante Lazzare d'Urbino was exactly the architect that he wanted, and the first stone of the building was laid in 1508, though it was not finished on his plan.—This artist of unbounded genius ought to have been born in the times of the ancient Romans.—Even the majestic structure of St. Peter's, the most august structure in the world, compared with Bramante's vast ideas, would be pitiful and paltry. His genius was not only boundless but rapid and impetuous. He gave his orders, and enormous blocks of marble came post from the quarries of Carrara; his piles of buildings rose by enchantment like Fairy Palaces out of the earth; and when their foundations were only expected to be laid, the whole edifices were finished (*f*).—Bramante died during the first years of Leo's Pontificate, and on his death-bed he recommended Rafaello as his successor, for this Sovereign Painter was also a Sovereign Architect.—Rafaello drew a fresh design for St. Peter's, which the new Pope approved, but the mighty work that served for a pretext for such a multitude of exactions, proceeded very slowly during Leo's reign.

Bramante Lazzare d' Urbino.

Rafaello

(*f*) Era tanta la furia di lui, che le sue fabbriche non si murassero ma nascessero." *Vasari*.

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Rafaello and his scholar Giulio Romano filled Rome and its environs with a number of elegant palaces. The Italians, it is commonly believed, have a greater respect for ancient buildings than any other nation, and the observation is in general true. Yet the Cimbri and the Goths, the Vandals and the Lombards, have left some of their descendants amongst them, and men of taste complain very grievously that the beautiful labours of these two artists have been either wantonly destroyed or suffered to decay. Many of their buildings have entirely disappeared, and others are scarcely to be found.

Baltassare Perucci.

Baltassare Perucci of Sienna was a Tuscan architect of some reputation, and the connoisseurs speak highly of his scrupulous attention to the different orders, and the rules connected with them. Peruzzi also restored for the theatrical exhibitions under Leo's Pontificate the art, which had been lost, of producing every natural object by the Pencil, Perspective and Artificial Light.—Vasari, who was an eye-witness of these stage decorations, is lavish in his praises of them. This art, so difficult to be acquired, because it does not admit of mediocrity, has never been supposed to have passed the Alps in any degree of perfection; and when France wished for a few specimens of it, she was obliged to fetch Servandoni, the first artist of the kind, from Florence.—Perucci was the author also of another magnificent plan for St. Peter's, and the architects who completed it, without the generosity

rosity of acknowledging their obligations, borrowed many of their ideas from it.

Sansovino.

Sansovino, another able Florentine, hath left, particularly at Venice, many beautiful monuments of his abilities. The Library of St. Mark is from his design, as well as the "Procuratie Neuve," which, as Palladio observes, is the richest and most ornamented building since the days of the Ancients. Venice indeed has not a single building of an early date which the Gondoliers do not tell you was by Sansovino.—Scamozzi relates that he left a treatise on the art, but that treatise is no more.

Sculpture—Rustici.

Rustici, a Florentine sculptor, is distinguished by the celebrated group of St. John disputing with the Jewish Doctors. The three figures are in fact separate and detached, but so as to appear connected with each other, from their looks and gestures. Vasari considers his group as one of the most perfect modern compositions (*a*), and

(*a*) "Queste tre statue sono le più perfette, e meglio intese, che siano state mai fatte de maëstro moderno. ——— Oltre al S. Giovanni, che è una figura pronta e vivace, viè un zuccone grassotto, che è bellissimo, il quale, posato il braccio destro sopra un fianco, con un pezzo di spalla nuda, e tenendo con la sinistra mano una carta dinanzi agli occhi, ha soppraposta la gamba sinistra alla destra, e sta in atto consideratissimo, per rispondere a S. Giovanni, con due sorte di panni vestito, uno sottile, che scherza intorno alle parte ignude della figura, ed un manto di sopra più grosso, condotto con un andar di pieghe, che è molto facile ed artifizioso. Simile a questo è il Fariseo, perciocchè, postasi la man destra alla barba, con atto grave si tira alquanto a dietro, mostrando stupirsi delle parole di Giovanni." *Vasari.*

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and a later artist, one of the best judges (*b*) of our times, is of opinion that Vasari's judgment is correct. Rustici's intimacy with Leonardo da Vinci rather lowered his own reputation, for it was to Leonardo da Vinci this group has been attributed.

Engraving—Marco Antonio.

Under Rafaello's eyes Marco Antonio began to engrave from his master's works, and both Rafaello and his scholars, jealous of their honour, did not consider it beneath them to stoop to the same employment.—There are above eight hundred prints from Rafaello's pictures or drawings.

Ugo di Carpi.

Ugo di Carpi applied to the same subject upon wood, and he found out the secret of giving his prints an appearance of half tints, shades, and light, like the drawings which have the Clear Obscure.

Piero Maria da Peschia. Michelino. Giovanni da Castel. Valerio Vincentino. Matteo dal Massaro. Domenico di Polo.

Engraving also on gems or precious stones made a rapid progress in Leo's Pontificate. Piero Maria da Peschia, and his competitor Michelino, were great imitators of the Ancients, and they brought the art so much forward that Giovanni da Castel of Bologna, Valerio Vicentino, and Matteo dal Massaro produced many beautiful works. Domenico di Polo, a Florentine, and a disciple of

(*b*) "Sono minori del vero le lodi, che il Vasari dà a queste statue, onde è probabilissimo, che Lionardo da Vinci desse dell' ajuto." *Bottari.*

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of Giovanni di Cornalino excelled in hollow or sunk engravings. All of them were however surpassed by Lodovico Anichini of Ferrara; but the ablest artist of the kind, and in every species of engraving, was Alessandro Cesare, more known under the name of "Il Greco."

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Lodovico Anichini. Alessandro Cesare.

The Medallic art improved likewise more and more, and at the commencement of the sixteenth century the Medallic History of the Roman Pontiffs affords numerous examples of the excellence of the workmanship, and a judicious choice of very beautiful types and legends applicable to these Ecclesiastical Sovereigns.

Leo the Xth inherited from his father Lorenzo a passionate taste for music, and his friend Anthony de Bergues, the Abbé of St. Bertin, sent him regularly Belgic airs, extracted from the music of St. Omer's (*c*), which Leo

(*c*) "Salutem, quam Amplitudo Tua mihi scripsit, equidem maximi muneris instar accipio, eamque Tibi plurimo fœnore cumulatam rescribo. Ex epistolâ tum eruditionis, tum modestiæ plenâ, humanissimi pectoris istius, et omnino Medicûm gentse digni simulacrum libenter agnovi, id quod antehac, cum apud nos ageres, perspexeram. Quod autem hospitioli nostri non solum meministi, verum etiam tam diligenter pro eo gratias agis, quodque tam benignè tuam invicem operam offers, animum quidem istum tuum tam propensum, volens gaudensque amplector, meritum meum nullum agnosco. Quod enim nostra mediocritas, cum cognoscendi studio in his regionibus nostratibus velut Ulysses Homericus, aut Solon Herodoticus peregrinus ageres, qualicunque sedulitate accepimus, nulla hic nostra prædicanda est humanitas, sed summa barbaries inhumanitasque, ni fecissemus, fuisset. Utinam autem vel tuæ dignitati, vel nostro animo satisfactum esset. Mea quidem tecta jam aliquot annis hospes nullus subiit vel ornatior, vel jucundior, ut hoc nomine me tibi

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Leo received with great pleasure.—In speaking of Leonardo da Vinci, the universal Genius, his invention of a species of a harp with twenty-four strings, and a harpsichord (*d*) very different from the modern one, was omitted. Both these inventions had their day, and in their turn have given place to more refined instruments.

Giuliano de' Medici, the brother of Leo the Xth.

Giuliano de' Medici, the youngest brother of Leo the Xth, was very young when his father Lorenzo died, but he was of great use to his brothers in their different enterprises and negotiations. During the term of their common exile he found an asylum with the Dukes of Urbino, Gui de Montefeltro, and his adopted son Francesco Maria de la Rovera. The latter received afterwards a proof of his gratitude, which was more meritorious, as gratitude

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beneficium debere potius existimem, quam credidisse. Porro operâ tuâ, si quando erit usus, tantâ omnino libertate utar, quantâ tu benignitate offers.—Libuit autem interim, et hac in re priscum referre morem, ut tuæ præstantiæ non solum hospitalis epistolæ, verum etiam xeniorum vice nonnihil adderem. Mitto autem cantiunculas musicas duas: quod ego munus, tametsi perquam exiguum, ac Ciceronianâ etiam levidensâ levius, tamen haud ingratum fore confido, vel quod es ipse hujus artis antiquissimæ, omniumque consensu divinæ, longè scientissimus, itidem ut aliarum omnium: vel quod cantilena recens est et nuperrimè nata; et ex eo quidem nata, qui se quondam in clarissimâ Medicum familiâ prædicat alitum fuisse, quæ mihi nimirum ingeniis excitandis, ornandisque studiis cœlitus data fuisse videtur. Is est in nostrâ urbe musicæ artis princeps,—Præstantissimam Amplitudinem tuam florentem et incolumem tueantur Superi. Apud Divum Audomarum, 30 Julii, anno a Christo nato 1501. *Epistola Antonii a Bergis, Abbatis Bertinici, ad Joannem de' Medicis, Cardinalem.*

(*d*) "Una specie d'arpe, che non è più in uso. ——— Gli si attribuisce ancora l'invenzione dell' arcicimbalo, che per la sua doppia estenzione è il contrabbasso del cimbalo ordinario." *Bottari.*

gratitude is not often a favourite virtue of the Great. As long as Giuliano lived he prevented his brother attempting any thing against the Dutchy of Urbino, and it was not till after his death, that the Roman Pontiff stripped the legitimate heir of his hereditary patrimony.

On the restoration of the Medici in 1512, Giuliano voluntarily waved his own pretensions to the government of Florence in favour of his nephew Lorenzo. This self-denial is not however to be considered as a proof of his moderation, for he was well known to have been one of those ambitious characters, who are always studying how far fortune will carry them. Supported by his brother Leo the Xth, and seeing himself in the road to power, he aspired successively to the government of Sienna, Lucca, the Dutchy of Ferrara, and even the Crown of Naples, and at his death he was the Gonfalonier of the Holy Church and Vicar of Modena and Reggio.

His death and character.

Being very amiable and generally beloved, his death was universally lamented, and even the Court shared in the public sorrow. A little before the termination of his fatal complaint, Leo the Xth, though he was then Pope, paid him an affectionate visit at Florence, and in a letter from Cardinal Bembo to the Cardinal Bibiena there is a passage, which contains a simple but affectionate tribute of respect for him. "I have not been able," he tells Bibiena,

biena, "to read your pious and affectionate letter in answer to mine on the death of our good Duke without tears.—What a lamentable misfortune!—Every part of your letter has affected me, and in particular the passage where you mention his favourite dog that you never meet without a flood of tears.—Peace and happiness attend the blessed soul, which is now, I trust, interceding for us, with its Heavenly Master (*d*)."—Bembo also introduced him into one of his dialogues.—Crescimbeni has preserved some specimens of his poetry, and the Count Balthazar Castiglione proposed him for his model of the "Perfect Courtier."—Giuliano married Philiberta of Savoy, the daughter of a Bourbon, whose memory France has continued to detest, notwithstanding she was the mother of Francis the first. Through this alliance the French Monarch conferred on Giuliano the Dutchy of Nemours, a title that belonged to a branch of the Armagnacs, the acknowledged descendants of Clovis by Charibert the brother of Dagobert, which ended with Louis de Nemours killed in the reign of Louis the XIIth at the battle of Cerignoles. Gaston de Foix had after-

wards

(*d*) "Io non ho potuto leggere la pietosissima e amorevolissima lettera di V. S. in risposta delle mie sopra la morte del buon Duca nostro, senza lagrime. O acerbo e lagrimevolissimo caso! O quanto m'ha commosso ogni parte di questa vostza lettera! ma quella molto, nella quale scrivete, che non solo altro, ma il cane suo leone (chien barbet) vi movea a piagnere, ogni volta che lo vedevate. —— Dio doni pace a questa innocente e benedetta anima, la quale per la sua religione e bontà è da credere, che in gratia della sua Maësta raccolta prieghi per noi."

Epist. Bemb. ad Card. di Sta. M. in Port.

wards the title, and it again expired with him in the bosom of victory at Ravenna.

After Giuliano's death, without legitimate issue, Francis the Ist, out of respect for his widow (*e*) conferred it on a branch of the House of Savoy, and the last Duke fell in a duel with his brother-in-law the Duke de Beaufort.—Giuliano's tomb may be seen in the new Sacristy of the Church of St. Lawrence, and there is his statue over it in the style of Michelagnolo, and in an attitude which corresponded with his active character.—The figure seems almost to be in motion.—On the sides are statues of day and night, the latter of which has also passed for one of the first productions of the sculptor's chisel. One side of the face is not indeed finished, but looking at the profile, there is so much truth in it, that it effectually deceives the eye.—The following lines were written on this celebrated statue, which will give some faint idea of its matchless beauty.

"La Notte che tu vedi in si dolci atti
Dormir, fu da un Angelo scolpita

In

(*e*) Amongst Leo's Letters there is one to Philiberta Giuliano's widow. "Ego cum te semel in filiæ mihi charissimæ loco collocârim atque habuerim, etsi is cujus te causâ impensius amabam, frater meus optimus et suavissimus decedens e vitâ me atque te mœrentes reliquit, tui tamen curam, rationem, benevolentiam, amorem denique paternnm meum nunquam rejiciam. Id virtus, probitas, religio tua, optimi tui castissimique mores atque nobilitas postulant." *Ep. Leon. X.*

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In questo sasso; e perchè dorme ha vita
Destala se nol credi, e parleratti (*f*).

The artist is supposed to have replied in the character of Night, and alluded to the Florentine troubles and divisions.

"Grato mi è il sonno, e più l'esser di sasso.
Mentre ch' il danno e la vergogna dura,
Non veder, non sentir mi è gran ventura
Però non mi destar! deh parla basso (*g*)!"

Lucrezia de' Medici.

Lucrezia de' Medici, the eldest daughter of the Great Lorenzo, married Jacopo Salviati, a Florentine distinguished in a superior manner by his wisdom and virtue. Yet a writer has assured us that from his indiscreet counsels

(*f*) "Wrought by an Angel's Hands see beauteous Night,
In Sleep reclin'd, attract th' astonish'd Sight.
Her heaving Breast unerring Tokens gives
Of inward Breath.—She sleeps—the Goddess lives.
Thy Doubts to end, this mystic Truth to teach,
Disturb her Slumbers, and provoke her Speech."

(*g*) "Depriv'd of Sense, blest with a marble Form,
I rest unshaken in the raging Storm.
To see, to hear, the Faculties of Life,
Is but to feel the dreadful Pains of Strife!
Stranger! For Pity's sake, or Silence keep,
Or pray, speak low.—You rob me of my Sleep."

When these Italian "Jeux d'Esprit" were attempted to be introduced into English, I had unaccountably forgotten or overlooked Mr. Seward's Translation (*Anecdotes*, *vol.* 1. 33, 34.)—The recollection of the successful efforts of his Muse would have precluded the idea of any other Version.

sels in a critical moment, which were unfortunately followed, the first city of the world was plunged into one of the most terrible calamities, it had experienced for many ages (*a*).—Angelo Politiano dedicated to Giacopo Salviati his charming (*b*) poem with the title of Rusticus, which is no unworthy supplement to the Georgics.

Varchi the historian, who is not to be accused of flattery, has said of Lucrezia, that "she was the most respectable female character the world had ever seen," and a numerous family recompensed her virtues.

The most distinguished of her children were

Cardinal Salviati.

The Cardinal Salviati—a leading character in the Flo-

(*a*) "Avendo Papa Clemente per consiglio di Messer Jacopo Salviati licenziate quelle cinque bande, che gli aveva mandato il Sgr. Giovannino, il quale già era morto in Lombardia; Borbone, saputo che a Roma non ci erano più soldati, spinse l'esercito suo alla volta di Roma.

Salviati fù propria causa del sacco di Roma."

Vita di Cellini.

(*b*) "Tua fides in hoc opusculo tuendo, meus honos agitur; cujus quidem etsi semper cura apud te jam inde a pueritiâ excubuit, tamen eum tueri nunc, vel ob id ipsum impensius debes, quod es nuper Laurentio Medici, principi viro, cujus ego cliens alumnusque sum, unus ex omni Florentinâ juventute gener ascitus."

In Politiano's Works there are also the following lines:

"Pro Cubiculo Julii Salviati.
Hic faciat me Juno Patrem, Cytherea Maritum,
Libertas Regem, Semideumque Sopor."

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Florentine history. Benevuto Cellini, who was not pleased with him and usually spoke his sentiments with great coarseness, has called him "Il Cardinale Bestia," and says his visage was rather like an ass than that of a human being (*c*), and that when he was angry it was still more brutal. The Prelate, however, patronised a Florentine painter and architect in an extraordinary manner, and allowed him to take his name. This artist's heads are usually very graceful, but his drawing is rather stiff, and he is a Mannerist!—As an architect he possesses an equal share of reputation, and he is said to have discovered the ancient mode of tracing the Ionic fluted pillar.

Bernardo Salviati.

Bernardo—elevated to the Purple after the death of his brother. He built at Rome after the design of Nanni or Baccio Biggio the Florentine the Salviati palace in the Longara near the Tiber, where the Court and apartments are of a beauty that may enter into competition with that of the first palaces in Rome. Before Bernardo went into the Church, he had married and had several children, two of whom Giovanni Salviati and Francesco Salviati settled in France. The latter was a Knight of Malta and Grand Master of the ancient regular military orders

(*c*) "Aveva più viso d'asino che d'uomo, e infuriandosi diveniva più brutto la metà."

orders of Christendom since united with the order of Mount Carmel in the person of the Count de Provence. The celebrated ancestor of Madame de Maintenon mentions the family in his memoirs.

"Vers ce tems, je m'amourachai de Diane Salviati "fille aînée de Talcy. Cette passion me mit en tête la "Poësie Française, et ce fut alors que je composai, ce "qu'on a depuis apellé le Printems de d'Aubigné, où il y "a à la vérité plusieurs choses peu polies; mais en ré- "compense une certaine fureur poëtique, que les gens "du métier loueront. Un jour comme je contais auprès "du père de ma maitresse mes infortunes et mes détres- "ses, le vieillard m'interrompit en me disant; vous m'a- "vez autrefois conté que les originaux de l'enterprise "d'Amboise avaient été mis en dépôt entre les mains de "votre père, et que dans l'une de ces pièces, il s'y trou- "vait le seing du Chancélier de l'Hôpital, qui pour le "présent est retiré dans sa maison, près d'Etampes; "c'est un homme qui n'est plus bon à rien, et qui a dé- "savoué votre parti; si vous voulez que je lui envoye "un homme pour l'avertir que vous avez cette pièce en- "tre vos mains, je me fais fort de vous faire donner dix "mille écus, soit par lui, ou par ceux qui voudraient "s'en servir pour le ruiner. Sur ce propos, sans répli- "quer, je departis près de lui, m'en fus chercher un sac "de velours tanné, dans lequel étaient toutes ces écritu- "res, le lui aportai et lui fis voir toutes les dites pièces,

"après

"après quoi je les repris de ma main, et les jettai dans le "feu en sa présence, ce qui donna lieu au Sr. de Talcy "de me taulxer rudement, à quoi je répondis, je les ai "brulées de peur qu'elles ne me brulassent, car j'aurais "pû succomber à la tentation. Le lendemain ce bon "homme prit l'amoureux par la main, et lui tint tels "propos: Encore que vous ne m'ayez point ouvert vos "pensées, j'ai de trop bons yeux, pour n'avoir point dé-"couvert votre amour envers ma fille; vous la voyez re-"cherchée de plusieurs qui vous surpassent en bien; ces "papiers que vous brulâtes hier, de peur qu'ils ne vous "brulassent, m'ont échaufé à vous dire, que je vous sou-"haite pour mon beau-fils; je lui répondis que cet acte "ne méritait une si haute récompense, et que pour un "trésor assez médiocre et mal acquis il m'en donnait un "inestimable. —— Le Chevalier Salviati, oncle de mon "accordée, rompit ce mariage sur la diffèrence de reli-"gion entre les promis, ce qui m'affligea si extraordi-"nairement que j'en tombai grièvement malade. —— "Dans un tournoi où le Roi de Navarre, moi son écuyer, "et les deux frères Lorrains se distinguèrent fort, Diane "de Talcy mon ancienne maitresse assista, étant lors "promise à Limeux, et voyant par la grande estime où "j'étais à la Cour, la diffèrence de ce qu'elle allait pos-"séder à ce qu'elle avait perdu, prit tant de chagrin, et "tomba dans une si grande mélancolie, qu'elle y succom-"ba et mourut peu de tems après."

D'Aubigné

D'Aubigné relates the story with great frankness, but is any great reputation to be derived from being proof against a temptation to dishonesty? Perhaps for the honour of the old Florentine he only meant to sound D'Aubigné, and would have banished him from his house and family if he had discovered in him the least inclination to have listened to the infamous proposal.

Leonardo Salviati of this family, was Tasso's most furious enemy.—This great poet had indiscreetly attacked the Florentines in one of his works, and it probably gave the first occasion to a very famous literary dispute. Camillo Pellegrino published a Dialogue on Epic Poetry, with the title of "Il Caraffa," in 1584, and endeavoured to prove that Tasso was in many respects superior to Ariosto. The Academy della Crusca took up the cause of Ariosto, and directed Salviati to refute the Dialogue of Pellegrino. His Reply appeared also in 1584, but the Academy published another by Salviati also in 1588, with the title of "L'Infarinato secondo."—This question respecting the merits of the two great poets has occasioned a swarm of publications, and the point in dispute is not yet settled.

During the Pontificate of Sixtus the IVth, Lorenzo de' Medici had been always exposed to the intrigues and persecution of the See of Rome, and he only narrowly escaped by great good fortune the stratagems prepared against

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against him, by which his brother Giuliano perished.—The danger had not been lost upon him, and he reaped from it an instructive lesson for his future conduct.—As soon as the pleasant and pacific Pope Innocent the VIIIth had succeeded to the Pontifical Throne, Lorenzo endeavoured to conciliate his esteem and gain his confidence. A strict intimacy and friendship soon followed, and to draw the knot still closer between them he gave his second daughter Maddalena in marriage to the Pope's son Francesco Cibo Count d'Anguillare, of a noble Genoese family, and the brother of Alberic, in whose favour the Emperor Maximilian had erected Massa and Carrara into a feudal principality.—The Cardinal Cibo, who figures in the Florentine annals, was the fruit of this marriage. His mother was notorious for her avarice, but that avarice has been productive of the most important benefits, and rescued the human mind from spiritual slavery.—Leo the Xth had given her the produce of the sale of indulgencies (*d*) in

Maddalena de' Medici.

(*d*) Guicciardini states the circumstance with indignation: "Et accrebbe che il Pontefice, ilquale per facilità della natura sua, esercitava in mole cose con poca, maestà l'ufficio Ponteficale, donò a Maddalena sua sorella lo emolumento, et l'esattione delle indulgenze di molte parti di Germania, laquale havendo fatto deputare Commessario il Vescovo Aremboddo ministro degno di questa commessione, che l'esercitava con grande avaritia, et estorsione, et sapendosi per tutta la Germania, che i danari, che se ne cavavano non andavano al Pontefice, ò alla Camera Apostolica, donde pur sarebbe forse stato possibile, che qualche par te se ne fusse spesa in usi buori, ma era destinata a SODISFARE ALL'AVARITIA D'UNA DONNA, HAVEVA FATTO DETESTABILE NON SOLO L'ESATTIONE, E I MINISTRI DI QUELLA, MA IL NOME ANCORA, ET L'AUTORITA DI CHI TANTO inconsultamente le concedava." (*Guicciardini, lib.* 13. 896.)—Sarpi Con.

in Saxony, and she intrusted the odious commission to Arembaud, an emissary fully qualified for the employment.

Trid. cap. 1. adds his authority to the accusation, and almost all the historians, Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, have admitted the truth of it without hesitation or examination. Dr. Robertson, however, has demonstrated on the following circumstantial evidence, the falsity, or at least the inaccuracy of the charge:— "1. That Felix Contolori, who searched the pontifical archives of purpose, could not find this pretended grant in any of those registers where it must necessarily have been recorded. Palav. p. 5.—2. That the profits arising from Indulgencies in Saxony and the adjacent countries, had been granted not to Magdalen, but to Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, who had the right of nominating those who published them. Seck. p. 12. Luth. Oper. 1. præf. p. 1. Palav. p. 6.—3. That Arcemboldo never had concern in the publication of Indulgencies in Saxony; his district was Flanders and the Upper and Lower Rhine. Seck. p. 14. Palav. p. 6.—4. That Luther and his adherents never mention this grant of Leo's to his sister, though a circumstance of which they could hardly have been ignorant, and which they would have been careful not to suppress.—5. The publication of Indulgencies in Germany was not usually committed to the Augustinians. The promulgation of them at three different periods under Julius the IId was granted to the Franciscans; the Dominicans had been employed in the same office a short time before the present period. Palav. p. 46.—6. The promulgation of those Indulgencies, which first excited Luther's indignation, was intrusted to the Archbishop of Mentz, in conjunction with the guardian of the Franciscans; but the latter having declined accepting of that trust, the sole right became vested in the Archbishop. Palav. 6. Seck. 16, 17.—7. Luther was not instigated by his superiors among the Augustinians to attack the Dominicans their rivals, or to depreciate Indulgencies because they were promulgated by them; his opposition to their opinions and vices proceeded from more laudable motives. Seck. p. 15. 32. Lutheri Opera 1. p. 64. 6.—8. A diploma of Indulgencies is published by Herm. Vonder Hardt, from which it appears that the name of the guardian of the Franciscans is retained together with that of the Archbishop, although the former did not act. The limits of the country to which their commissions extended, viz. the dioceses of Mentz, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and the territories of the Marquis of Brandenburgh, are mentioned in that diploma. Hist. Literaria Reformat. pars iv. p. 14. *Hist. of the Reign of Charles the Vth, book* 2. *vol.* 2. 86. *4to.* 1769.

On the subject of Indulgencies the learned writer has observed: "As the form of these Indulgencies, and the benefits which they were supposed to convey, are un-

 ment. The crying abuse of this profligate traffic first opened Luther's eyes, and roused him to his intrepid and successful

known in Protestant countries, and little understood at present in several places where the Roman Catholic Religion is established, I have, for the information of my Readers, translated the form of absolution used by Tetzel.—'May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, that of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the most Holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee first from all Ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the Holy See, and as far as the keys of the Holy Church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in Purgatory on their account, and I restore you to the Holy Sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism, so that when you die the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the Paradise of delight shall be opened, and if you shall not die at present this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Seckend. Comment. lib. i. p. 14.

The terms in which Tetzel and his associates described the benefits of Indulgencies, and the necessity of purchasing them, are so extravagant, that they appear to be almost incredible. If any man (said they) purchases letters of Indulgencies, his soul may rest secure with respect to its salvation. The souls confined in Purgatory, for whose redemption Indulgencies are purchased, as soon as the money tinkles in the chest, instantly escape from that place of torment, and ascend into Heaven. That the efficacy of Indulgencies was so great, that the most heinous sins, even if one should violate (which was impossible) the Mother of God, would be remitted and expiated by them, and the person be freed both from punishment and guilt. That this was the unspeakable gift of God, in order to reconcile men to himself. That the Cross erected by the preachers of Indulgencies was as efficacious as the Cross of Christ itself. Lo! the Heavens are open; if you enter not now, when will you enter; For twelve-pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of Purgatory; and are you so ungrateful that you will not rescue your parent from torment? If you had but one coat you ought to strip yourself instantly and sell it, in order to purchase such benefits, &c.—These, and many such extravagant expressions, are selected out of Luther's works by Chemnitius, in his Examen Concilii Tridentini apud Herm. Vonder. Hardt. Hist. Liter. Reform. pars iv. p. 6. The same Author

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successful exertions against the Papal tyranny.—Maddalena died in 1519.

Contesina de' Medici.

Contesina, the third daughter of Lorenzo the Great, married Piero Ridolfi, of an illustrious family at Florence, who was beheaded in 1497, during the time of Savonarola, on his having taken a part in the attempt in favour of the House of Medici.—Condivi the disciple and historian of Michelagnolo calls the Cardinal Ridolfi their son "Porto di tutti i virtuosi." He was Archbishop of Florence, and furnished a very striking example of the use or abuse of the "Jus regressus" in the Church of Rome, for in 1532 he resigned his bishopric to Andrea Buondelmonte, received it again on his death in 1543, and resigned it a second time to the Archbishop Altovita. This Ecclesiastical custom was annulled by the council of Trent, and it must be acknowledged, many similar abuses were also abolished.—Unfortunately more essential ones remained.—Sick of a Polypus of the heart, and with an ulcer on the Pineal Gland, a thousand operators were called in, who eradicated very dextrously a few corns.

In the Conclave, which followed the death of Paul the IIId, the French interest attempted to raise Ridolfi to the Papal throne, but the Spaniards both feared and hated him, and he died suddenly. *CHAP.*

has published several of Tetzel's Discourses, which prove that these expressions were neither singular nor exaggerated. Ibid. p. 14."

Hist. of Charles the Vth, book 2. vol. 2. 80.

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GIULIO DE' MEDICI—Death of Adrian—Giulio de' Medici succeeds him, and takes the Name of Clement the VIIth—Francis the Ist defeated at Pavia—Clement the VIIth's Embarrassment—Joins the League against the Emperor—Francesco Maria Rovera—The Cardinal Pompeo Colonna enters Rome and pillages it—Clement the VIIth obliged to pardon the Revolt--afterwards deprives the Cardinal of his Hat--excommunicates him and his Followers—George Fronsberg—Clement enters into an Agreement with the Viceroy of Naples and disbands his Troops—The Constable Bourbon attacks Rome by Storm--killed in the Assault—Rome captured and pillaged—Clement the VIIth submits to the Conditions offered him by the Emperor—Revolt of the Florentines—Niccolò Capponi elected Gonfalonier—Clement the VIIth escapes from his Confinement disguised as a Muleteer--adopts decidedly the Emperor's Interest--Treaty between him and the Emperor—Florentines prepare to support themselves—Interview between Clement the VIIth and the Emperor—Siege of Florence by the Imperial and Ecclesiastical Troops under the Command of the Prince of Orange—The Prince of Orange and Francesco Feruccio the Florentine General killed in the same Skirmish—Surrender of Florence--Change of its Government, subject to the Emperor's final Decree—Malatesta Baglione

T 2 —Alessandro

—Alessandro dè Medici placed by the Emperor's Decree at the Head of the Florentine Government—Marriage of Catherine dè Medici with Henry Duke of Orleans—Death of Clement the VIIth—Progress of the Reformation—Piero Martyro Vergmilio—Creation of new Religious Orders—Capuchins—Bernardo Ochino—Theatins—Barnabites—Regular Congregation of Sommasque—Machiavel—Il Principe—Paoli di Sarpi—Pietro Aretino—Trissino—Urancesco Berni.

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GIULIO DE' MEDICI

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THE birth of Giulio, the natural and posthumous son of Lorenzo's brother Giuliano, the victim of the Pazzi conspiracy, has been already mentioned.—In early life he was a Knight of Rhodes and an Ecclesiastic. His cousin, Leo the Xth, raised him to the Purple, and reposed in him the greatest confidence. Many historians have believed that Giulio governed Leo, but Guicciardini, the best informed of all these writers, assures his readers that he was only the minister and faithful instrument of Leo's inclinations. On the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, the Pope appointed him Governor of Florence, and in the Conclave which followed the Pontiff's death, he was near the acquisition of the Triple Crown, which was bestowed on the Preceptor of Charles the Vth. Giulio de' Medici.

The

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The Conclave's choice exposed it to the raillery of the wits of Rome (*a.*)—Giulio, who had at first retired on his disappointment to Florence, soon returned to Rome.—He supplanted the Cardinal Volterra in the new Pope's favour by pointing out to him the Cardinal's intrigues and secret correspondence with France; and Adrian did not afterwards act on any occasion without having consulted his Privy Counsellor, on the propriety of the measure.—But Adrian's reign was short.—His austere temper had rendered him odious to the Roman people, and they waited with impatient expectation the natural and mature death of the Spiritual Father already advanced in years.—Their joy indeed when that event happened is an elogy on this last of the Ultramontane Pontiffs, and his good intentions can be no longer doubtful.—Giulio de' Medici strengthened his own powerful interest by a little simony, succeeded him in the Papal Chair, and took the name of Clement the VIIth, to shew that he had pardoned his mortal enemies the Cardinals Soderini and Colonna, and would not as a Sovereign demean himself with recollecting the injuries of an individual (*b*).

Death of Adrian.

Giulio de' Medici succeeds him, and takes the name of Clement the VIIth.

On

(*a*) "Basta ch'egli hanno fatto un Papa santo,
Che dice ogni mattina la sua messa,
E non s'el tocca mai se non col guanto."

Berni.

(*b*) The forgiveness of injuries is a certain proof of a great mind; but Clement would have been indeed unworthy to have ruled over the Christian World, if he had

On his elevation to the Pontifical Throne he was in full possession of a brilliant reputation (*c*), and was supposed to be a person of great abilities, unaddicted to pleasure, and a consummate politician.—Adrian, in the bloody conflict between the Emperor and the French King, had blindly embraced the Imperial cause. Clement proposed to himself a line of conduct more consistent with the character of their common Spiritual Father.—It was beautiful in speculation—to reduce it into practice was impossible.—From the common course of events he was soon under the necessity of ranging himself on one side or on the other. Charles was offended at his neutrality,

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forgotten one of the first articles of the moral code of Christianity, and carried into the Papal Chair a bitter recollection of his enemies. Muratori's maxim "Certo non sarà giammai degno di reggere popoli, che non sa mai perdonare," should be imprinted on the hearts of Kings.

(*c*) "O Divo Julio, o fonte di clemenza,
Onde'l bel nome di Clemente hai tolto."
Le Api del Ruccellai.

Guicciardini seems to have drawn his character with his usual impartiality.—"Grandissima certamente per tutto il mondo era l'estimatione del nuovo Pontefice, però la tardità della eletione, maggiore che già fusse accaduto lunghissimo tempo; pareva ricompensata con l'havere posto in quella sedia una persona di somma auto- rità, et valore, perche haveva congiunta ad arbitrio suo la potenza dello stato di Firenze alla potenza grandissima della Chiesa, perche haveva tanti anni a tempo di Lione governato quasi tutto il Pontificato, perche era riputato persona grave, et costante nelle sue deliberationi, et perche essendo state attribuite a lui molte cose ch'erano proceduta da Lione; ciascuno effermava esso essere huomo pieno d'ambi- tione, d'animo grande, et inquieto, et desiderosissimo di cose nuove; alle quali parti aggiungendosi l'essere alieno da i piaceri, et assiduo alle facende, non era alcuno che non aspettasse da lui fatti estraordinarii, et grandissimi."
Guicciardini, lib. 15. 441.

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trality, and insinuated to him that he should consider him as his enemy if he did not prove himself to be his friend.—Francis on his first entrance into Italy appeared to have some decided success, and he laid siege to Pavia.—The Roman Pontiff, apprehensive of the Emperor's despotism on any addition of his power, and deceived by these appearances of success which had already attended the French troops, hastily concluded a treaty with the French Monarch, who took under his protection both the Florentine and Ecclesiastical territories.—The news of the treaty soon reached the Emperor's ears—he vented his rage on the Pope's conduct, and his Holiness had soon reason to lament the precipitancy of the fatal step he had taken. Francis was made prisoner under the walls of Pavia, and his misfortune defeated both his projects and those of his ally, and put an end to all the political enterprises which they had in view.

Francis the Ist defeated at Pavia.

Charles seemed at first to bear with moderation the advantages he had already reaped by his arms, and the tide of good fortune which had poured in upon him; but Europe was alarmed—Italy trembled—Venice was in a strange state of perplexity—and nothing could equal the Pope's embarrassment.—Human prudence, without the gift of prophecy, could not have divined a more critical or distressful situation. The Ecclesiastical States were open on every side, and his patrimony had not a single fortress to defend it. The blind veneration for the Holy See

Clement the VIIth's embarrassment.

See had been considerably weakened, and the Roman people had not the personal attachment to their Sovereign which is usually found under an elective government.—In addition to these circumstances the Guelph and Ghibeline factions were not wholly extinguished, whilst the great Barons continued in their proud and haughty species of independence, till Sixtus the Vth boldly shivered it into pieces with his iron pastoral crook. —Florence, and the private interests of the Medici family, were exposed to the same danger.—The passage of Charles the VIIIth had given the Florentines eighteen years of liberty—they now burned with ardour to establish it, and a knowledge of their disaffection gave Clement perhaps the most serious of all his alarms.—The choice of two different measures lay before him: to settle his differences with the Emperor on the best terms possible, and at any price, or to put himself at the head of the Italian powers to oppose his further progress.—Abilities are often nothing without a dignity of soul to govern their exertions and direct them. Great actions originate in a greatness of mind.—Clement, whose courage was not equal to his understanding, took the route which he apprehended was the most secure. The Viceroy of Naples was in want of money, and listened very readily to the Roman Pontiff's overtures. A treaty was soon concluded between them which cost the Pope an immense sum of money, drawn principally from the Florentines, and the other Italian States were reduced to the same de-

structive

structive method of providing for their safety by loans or subsidies. Such a system is the most ruinous system—it is an expedient that procures only a temporary succour, and plunges the nation that adopts it into additional embarrassments, and still greater misery (*a*)! Peace is not afterwards to be preserved on honourable, or bought on easy terms; for the person that has it in his power, whether it be the Emperor of Germany or the Dey of Algiers, is hourly enabled to raise the price of what he has to sell, and insist on the purchase at whatever sum he fixes.

Italy had long felt the pressure of its yoke, and in the very act of submission had sighed and murmured.—Excessive oppression awakened the sentiment of liberty, and the outrageous insolence of the victorious troops again kindled the flame of war.—Venice and the Duke of Milan were obliged to join the Regent Louisa.—Clement the VIIth had no great confidence in her offers from the persuasion that she would not hesitate a moment to sacrifice Italy to recover her son; but the despotic severity of the Spaniards, and the ferocity of the Germans compelled him to join the league in spite of his fears and apprehensions. His first effort was an attempt to seduce one

Joins the League against the Emperor.

(*a*) In the words of one of our most elegant modern Authors, whose learning is only to be equalled by the goodness of his heart, "It were devoutly to be wished that no late event might have verified the severe observation of an ingenious French writer, 'que les sotises de nos devanciers sont perdues pour nous!'"

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one of the ablest of the Emperor's Generals, and if he had succeeded in it he must have rendered the allies the most important service.—The distant prospect of the Crown of Naples had been shewn to the Marquis of Pescara, and in order to overcome his conscientious scruples the opinions of a multitude of casuists were carefully transmitted to him, which proved to demonstration he would be guilty of an enormous crime against Heaven if he did not take up arms against his master.—Pescara at last refused the offer, but as he at first accepted it, or pretended to accept it, his sudden death has left his real intentions in dubious obscurity.

Charles the Vth, on this formidable league against him, was afraid of his enemies becoming too numerous and powerful, and he released the French Monarch, who signed whatever was desired of him. On his return into his own kingdom Clement sent an Envoy to him to sound his dispositions, and the Ecclesiastical Agent found him less delicate than one of his ancestors on a similar occasion, and determined to consider the treaty of Madrid as void, from its having been extorted from him during his confinement. France in fact became the first power of the league. The views of the Allies were to establish and strengthen Francesco Sforza in the possession of the Milanese, to restore every thing to its situation before the war, and to procure the liberty of the French King's son by a ransom. The conquest of Naples was included in

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in some secret articles, and there were particular stipulations that related to it. The King of England undertook for his assistance, and the State of Florence also joined in the alliance.

Francesco Maria Rovera.

After a long delay the Italian army marched to the relief of the castle of Milan, under the command of Francesco Maria Rovera, who had been stripped of his Dutchy of Urbino by Leo the Xth, and recovered it on his death. Rovera had not an hour to lose, but his want of confidence (*b*) in the Italian troops laid him under the necessity of waiting too long for the Swiss auxiliaries who were in motion to join him, and the moment in which he might have been almost sure of victory had slipped. Even his advantages were in the end unproductive, and rather prejudicial to the cause of the Confederates, as they gave the Spaniards time to fortify Milan, into which the Constable Bourbon had thrown himself. The castle was at length reduced to the last extremity, and the Duke of Urbino had the misfortune to see it surrender under his own eyes. Sforza obtained the permission to retire, but a ruined ally could only be an incumbrance.

Such an unfortunate opening of the campaign increased Clement's

(*b*) "Stimando forse più, che non era giusto, la virtù delle genti Spagnuole, et Tedesche, et diffidando smisuratamente de' soldati Italiani."

Guicciardini, lib. 17. 10.

Clement's fears and apprehensions, and particularly as Francis the Ist, instead of taking an active and vigorous part, had scarcely given the Allies any support. Affairs however were not in a state of desperation, when a singular incident completely blasted all their future prospects. Cardinal Pompeo Colonna renewed the attempt of his ancestor Sciarra against Boniface the VIIIth, and at the instigation of the Imperial agents entered Rome at the head of four thousand men. Finding no resistance he advanced towards the Vatican.—Fear, when it has reached a certain degree, sometimes produces the same effect as courage, and the first idea of the Father of the Church was in his pontifical habits boldly to meet his rebellious children (*c*), but the remonstrances of his friends prevailed on him to retire to the castle of St. Angelo. —Colonna's troops pillaged St. Peter's and the Vatican, and extraordinary as the spectacle was, the Roman people gazed on it with indifference and without concern. Ugo de' Moncade, the Emperor's Minister, paid the Pope a hasty visit, and in the commanding tone of a conqueror insisted both on Clement's recalling the Ecclesiastical forces from Lombardy, and pardoning the authors of the revolt against him. These were severe terms, but the Roman Pontiff was obliged to submit to them.

The Cardinal Pompeo Colonna enters Rome, and pillages it.

Clement the VIIth obliged to pardon the revolt.

Released

(*c*) "Ire ipsum et opponere Majestatem Imperatoriam debuisse, cessuris ubi Principem longâ experientiâ, eundemque severitatis et munificentiæ summum vidissent," (*Taciti Annal. lib.* 1. *sect.* 46. *tom.* 1. 41. 4*to.* *Paris*, 1771), was the advice once given to Tiberius.

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Released from his immediate enemies Clement was still in dreadful perplexity.—Was he to adhere to an agreement forcibly extorted from him by the most odious and outrageous violence, or to break through it at the risk of opening before him a deeper gulph into which he might be speedily precipitated?—The eternal influence of fear endeavours to protract a determination in any dangerous or dubious circumstances, and can only bring itself to decide when decision is no longer to be avoided.—Clement hesitated as long as it was possible to hesitate, and at last protesting against the shameful violence that had been offered to him, deprived the Cardinal of his Hat, and fulminated a sentence of excommunication against him and his followers, but the news he received immediately afterwards again augmented his anxiety and distress.—The Imperial troops in Lombardy were in such a miserable state as to give the Allies great hopes of being able to overpower, or ruin them entirely, when George Fronsberg, one of the Emperor's warmest partisans, and a most inveterate enemy of the See of Rome, arrived with fourteen thousand Germans to reinforce the Constable Bourbon. This Fronsberg, in the spirit of the times, was a religious as well as military enthusiast, and he carried in his bosom, and shewed occasionally a golden cord, that was intended to strangle the Roman Pontiff, in his idea the common enemy of his master the Emperor, and of Christ (*d*).—Rovera, unable possibly to oppose

Deprives the Cardinal of his Hat—excommunicates him and his followers.

George Fronsberg.

(*d*) " Extento tantum medio digito, validissimum quemque firmo ianixum vestigio

pose a body of superior forces, contented himself with harassing it, or appearing to harass it in its march, and Fronsberg joined the Spanish troops shut up in Milan.—Such a reinforcement destroyed at once the balance that had been long vibrating between the contending powers.

Clement enters into an agreement with the Viceroy of Naples, and disbands his troops.

Clement, now more alarmed than ever, seriously opened a treaty with the formidable Aristocracy, but the Imperial Ministers contrived to entangle him in a long and tedious negotiation. Independent of being duped in this manner, he was himself still irresolute, seeing, at one moment, no hope of safety without an unqualified submission to the Emperor's wishes, and, in the very next, with the most romantic contradiction aspiring to the conquest of Naples. The hour at length arrived when he could no longer fluctuate. A decisive measure was not to be deferred, and he entered into an agreement with the Viceroy, who came to Rome to sanction it with his presence.—Clement, in the fullest security, disbanded all his troops, and conveyed the intelligence of the agreement to the Constable Bourbon, but the arch rebel had laid his plan, and his troops refused any obedience to the Viceroy's orders.—Bourbon traversed Tuscany, and approached Rome.—Urbino left him the road open.—The Viceroy

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facilè dimovebat. Eo diri voti impetu in Italiam descendit, ut se Clementem, tanquam Cæsaris hostem, laqueo suspensurum truculentâ voce profiteretur; laqueum auratum, quem sinu gestabat, crebrò depromens et ostentans, quo in sacrosancti viri teterrimo supplicio homo nefarius atque impius uteretur." *Paul. Iov.*

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Viceroy quitted Rome under the pretence of meeting the Constable, who fixed on a place of rendezvous, to elude the visit, where he did not mean to attend, and in the mean time neglected nothing to impose upon the Roman Pontiff, and to lull his suspicions to rest.—Clement, however, very inconsistently with his former timidity, now discovered a firmness of mind that did him some little honour, prohibited the people from flying or removing their effects, and took every necessary precaution that the time would admit of for his defence; but the hostile troops, by a forced march, were already under the walls of Rome, and the danger was both imminent and pressing.

The Constable Bourbon attacks Rome by storm—killed in the assault.

Bourbon ordered the city to be stormed. The assault was immediately given, and the first musket-shot from the walls laid the Constable dead upon the ground (*e*). His

(*e*) " Ferito nel principio dell' assalto d'uno archibuso, cadde in terra morto." *Guicciardini, lib.* 18. 50.—" La Ferron says," as Mr. Wraxall states, " that the Constable still breathed when the city was taken; that he was carried into Rome, and there expired.—It is certain that he died at two o'clock in the morning of Monday the 5th of May, 1527, at thirty-eight years of age.——Of a temperate and steady courage, ever master of itself, he was calculated by nature for command, and capable of the most arduous military achievements. No General of his age possessed so fully the art of conciliating the affections of the soldiery, and moulding them to all his purposes. Munificent and liberal where prudence required it, he was naturally an œconomist. Silent, thoughtful, and inclined to taciturnity, he did not cultivate the arts of ingratiating himself; but wrapped in a haughty virtue, which disdained to stoop even to the honourable means of acquiring favour or popularity, he refused to owe any thing except to his own personal merits.—Qualities of this na-

His troops, animated with the spirit of revenge from the death of their leader (*a*), carried the city after a slight resistance.—Clement might have saved himself, but the Constable's death had afforded him the deceitful hopes of being able to repulse the enemy, and he shut himself up along with thirteen Cardinals in the castle of St. Angelo.—The horrors are neither to be described nor parallelled to which the Capital of the Christian world taken by assault was abandoned.—Tottila, nine hundred years before, treated it with less barbarity (*b*), though he had

Rome captured and pillaged.

sworn

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ture are not calculated to raise their possessors in Courts, and least of all were they so in that of Francis the Ist. *Wraxall's History of the Kings of France, vol.* 1. 258. 207. *8vo.* 1785.)—Cellini lays claim to the merit of directing the shot against the Constable, but he pretends also to the same honour afterwards on the death of the Prince of Orange.—We may safely disbelieve one and doubt of both.—*Life of Benvenuto Cellini, vol.* 2. 127—147.

(*a*) " Montant le premier sur la muraille, il y mouru avec un tel regret de ses gens, que de rage, pour venger sa mort; ils ne laissirent jamais de crier: Carne, Carne; sangre, sangre; Bourbon, Bourbon; et de tuer jusques à ce qu'ils en fussent las et non pas saouls, (basta à non hartarse) dit le mot Espagnol."

Œuvres de Brantome, tom. 4. 168.

(*b*) " Entrati dentro cominciò ciascuno a discorrere tumultuosamente alla preda, non havendo rispetto non solo al nome de gli amici, et all'autorità, et dignità de' Prelati, ma etiandio a'Templi, a Monasteri, alle reliquie, honorate dal concorso di tutto il mondo, et alle cose sacre, però sarebbe impossibile non solo narrare, ma quasi imaginarsi le calamità di quella Città, destinata per ordine de' Cieli a somma grandezza, ma etiandio a spesse direttioni: perche era l'anno DCCCCLXXX. che era stata saccheggiata da Gotti: impossibile a narrare la grandezza della preda, essendovi accumulate tante ricchezze, et tante cose pretiose et rare di Cortigiani, et di mercatanti: ma la fece ancora maggiore la qualità, et il numeio grande de' prigioni, che s'hebbero à ricomperare con grossissime taglie, accumulando ancora la miseria, et la infamia, che molti Prelati presi da soldati massimamente de' fanti Tedeschi,

sworn on his buckler to extinguish the Roman name.—The combined army under the command of the tardy and perfidious Duke of Urbino slowly marched to its support, yet he neither approached it, nor made a single effort to take advantage of the disorder of the Germans, who flushed with victory had plunged into every species of debauchery.—The Viceroy was wholly engaged in his fruitless endeavours to supplant the Prince of Orange. The army was however too much devoted to him to listen to the Viceroy's suggestions, and they chose him general in the room of Bourbon.—Clement, without any hopes of assistance, made his peace with the Emperor, and was compelled to agree to conditions as rigid as they were humiliating. He engaged to pay four hundred thousand ducats—to put the ports and fortresses in the Ecclesiastical states into the possession of the Imperialists—and when he had even subscribed to these disgraceful and disadvantageous terms he had not recovered his liberty. He was to remain a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo till the payment of the first part of the stipulated

Clement the VIIth submits to the conditions offered him by the Emperor.

che per odio del nome della Chiesa Romana, erano crudeli, et insolenti, erano in su bestie vili con gli habiti, et con le insegne delle loro, dignità menati à torno con grandissimo vilipendio per tutta Roma, molti tormentati crudelissimamente, ò morirono ne' tormenti, ò trattati di sorte, che pagata che hebbero la taglia, finirono fra pochi dì la vita. ——— Sentimansi i gridi, et l'urla miserabili delle donne Romane, et delle monache, condotte a torme da soldati per satiare la loro libidine, potendo veramente dirsi essere oscuri à mortali giudittii di Dio, che comportasse che la castità famosa delle donne Roma ne cadesse per forza in tanta bruttezza, et miseria."

Guicciardini, lib. 18. 51.

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lated sum, and was afterwards to go to Gaeta, and there wait the future pleasure of the Emperor (*c*).—The Spaniard and Catholic Sandoval has acknowledged this was not a holy work, " obra no santa."—There is not a Protestant that would not consider it as the most flagitious perfidy!

Fortune seemed to have exhausted her rage on Clement, and to have left nothing to be added to his humiliation or distress. He felt, notwithstanding, most sensibly what passed at Florence. Perhaps he reposed with confidence on the elasticity of the Pontifical staff, which had often bent but had never broken; perhaps he had a presentiment, that the storm, however violent, would be of short duration; or he might have a predilection for the government of his native city, and more attachment to the private interests of the Medici Family.

Bourbon

(*c*) " Il quale finalmente destituto d'ogni speranza, convenne il sesto di di Giugno con gli Imperiali quasi con quelle medesime conditioni, con le quali haveva potuto convenire prima. Che il Pontefice pagasse all'esercito ducati quattrocento mila, cioè centomila di presente, che si pagavano di danari, argento, et oro, rifuggito nel Castello, cinquantamila fra venti dì, dugento cinquantamila fra due mesi, assegnando per il pagamento di questi una impositione pecuniaria da farsi per tutto lo Stato della Chiesa. Mettesse in potestà di Cesare per ritenerlo quanto paresse a lui Castel Sant' Angelo, le Rocche d'Ostia, et di Civitàvecchia, et di Cività Castellana, et le Città di Piacenza, di Parma, et di Modona. Restasse egli prigione in Castello con tutti li Cardinali, che erano seco tredici, insino, a tanto che fussero pagati i primi centocinquantamila, poi andassero a Napoli, ò a Gaetta per aspertare quello, che di loro determinasse Cesare." *Guicciardini, lib.* 18. 53, 54.

Bourbon had threatened the capital of Tuscany before he filed off for Rome.—The Florentines had been provoked by the enormous contributions levied on them by the two Popes of the House of Medici; for if these Spiritual pastors had shorn their other flocks, those of Florence had bled beneath their shears, and they seized the opportunity of throwing off their yoke, on the supposition that Clement was personally obnoxious to the Imperial army, whilst pillage and plunder were its real objects. The younger part of the citizens immediately armed, made themselves masters of the place, overpowered the magistrates, and forced them to declare Hippolito and Alessandro the Pope's nephews enemies of the state (*d*), whom the Pope had placed at the head of the government under the care and direction of Silvio Passerino the Cardinal of Cortona.

Revolt of the Florentines.

Passerino was frightened beyond conception, and fled with

(*d*) "Essendo in Firenze grandissima sollevatione d'animo, et quasi in tutto il popolo malissima contentezza del presente governo, et instando la gioventù, che per difendersi, secondo dicevano, da' soldati, i Magistrati concedessero loro l'arme publiche innanzi se ne facesse deliberatione il dì vigesimo sesto nato nella piazza pubblica certo tumulto quasi a caso, la maggiore parte del popolo, et quasi tutta la gioventù armata, cominciò a correre verso il Palagio pubblico, et dette fomento non piccolo a questo tumulto, ò la imprudenza, ò la timidità di Silvio Cardinale di Cortona. ——— Spargendosi per la città lui essere fuggito, furono molto più pronti a corti à correre al Palagio; ilquale occupato dalla gioventù, et piena la piazza di moltitudine armata, costrinsero il sommo Magistrato à dichiarare rebelli con solenne decreto Hippolito, et Alessandro nipoti del Pontefice." *Guicciardini, lib.* 18. 48, 49.

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with his two pupils, though as the Duke of Urbino approached Florence with the combined troops he returned and every thing resumed its former appearance. The authority of the Medici was again established, and if a person of any resolution or strength of mind had been intrusted with the government, it is very probable he might have retained his power. Passerino did not even look danger in the face. The sack of Rome gave a new turn to affairs, and the enemies of the Medici resumed their projects and their spirits.—Passerino convoked an assembly of the people, abdicated the government, and only stipulated that the Medici should not be exiled (*e*). When he had agreed to these ignominious conditions he left Florence with his two pupils, but he had no sooner reached Lucca, than he saw the cowardice and folly of his conduct, and he weakly endeavoured to delay the surrender of the different fortresses which he had promised to deliver to the insurgents.—Niccoló Capponi, a person of great prudence and moderation, was elected Gonfa-

Niccolo Capponi elected Gonfalonier.

(*e*) "Come vi fu la nuova della perdita di Roma, il Cardinale di Cortona impaurito per trovarsi abbandonato da' Cittadini, che facevano professione d'essere amici de' Medici, non havendo modo senza termini violenti, et straordinarii di provedere a'danari, nè volendo per avaritia mettere mano a' suoi, almeno insino a tanto che s'intendesse il progresso de gli eserciti, che andavano per soccorrere il Pontefice, non lo movendo alcuna necessità, perche nella città erano molti soldati, et il popolo spaventato per l'accidente seguito dell'occupatione del Palagio, non havrebbe havuto ardire di muoversi deliberò di cedere alla fortuna; et convocati li Cittadini, lasciò libero loro l'amministratione della Repubblica, ottenuti certi privilegii, et esentioni, et facoltà a'nipoti del Pontefice di stare come Cittadini privati in Firenze."
Guicciardini, lib. 18. 54.

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Gonfalonier; yet neither his prudence nor his moderation had any influence on the Florentines. With a wild and impetuous resentment they demolished the statues of the two Popes of the House of Medici, and declared eternal war against the family, without detaching themselves from the league in which Clement the VIIth had prevailed on them to join.

Whilst these events passed at Florence, the Imperial Eagles continued to prey upon the Roman Carcass, and both the Spaniards and Germans lived in every licentious indulgence, and uncontrouled by any orders, those of their own will and pleasure alone excepted.—France and England at last awoke out of their torpitude or slumber, and taking up the Pope's quarrel warmly insisted on his release.—Lautrec conducted a very powerful army into Italy; Genoa, Alexandria, and Padua surrendered, but the Pope still remained in prison, and under the apprehensions of being removed to Gaeta he laboured incessantly to prevent this last misfortune (*f*).—If we are to believe the Jesuit Tursellini, the Roman Pontiff wrote to the Lady of Loretto a letter filled with the most tender reproaches, and he had the address to gain over to his interest the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, his former declared

(*f*) "Desiderayano i Capitani condurre il Pontefice à Gaeta con li tredici Cardinali, che erano con lui: ma egli con molta diligentia, con prieghi, et con arte procurava il contrario." *Guicciardini, lib.* 18, 56.

clared enemy (*g*).—His release was at last determined.—Fearing, however, a fluctuation in the Viceroy's sentiments, Clement took the advantage of a dark night, when his centinels had relaxed a little of their usual vigilance, and escaped in the dress of a common muleteer (*h*).

Clement the VIIth escapes from his confinement disguised as a Muleteer.

In spatterdashes and a coarse frock this Vicegerent of Omnipotence pursued his journey to Orvieto, and there contemplated and collected the shattered remains

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(*g*) Guicciardini has stated very fully the Roman Pontiff's political exertions and intrigues. "Nè mancava il Pontefice a se medesimo; perche tirò nella sentenza sua Hieronimo Morone, il consiglio del quale era appresso gli Imperiali in tutte le deli-berationi di grande autorità, conferito il Vescovado di Modona al figliuolo et pro-messo à lui certi frumenti suoi, che erano a Corneto di valore di più di dodeci mila ducati ma non con minore industria si fece propitio il Cardinale Colonna, promes-sagli la Legatione della Marca, et dimonstrandogli quando venuto a Roma l'andò a visitare nel Castello, di volere essere a lui principalmente debitore di tanto beneficio, et artificiosamente instillandogli ne gli orecchi, che maggiore gloria, ò che maggiore felicità potesse desiderare, che farsi noto à tutto il mondo essere in potestà sua de-primere i Pontefici, in potestà sua quando erano annichilati, farli ritornare nella pristina grandezza, dalle quali cose commosso quel Cardinale elatissimo, et vento-sissimo per natura aiutò prontamente la sua liberatione, credendo fusse cosi facile al Pontefice liberato dimenticarsi di tante ingiurie, come facilmente gli haveva prigione raccomandata humilissimamente con preghi et con lagrime la sua liberatione."

Guicciardini, lib. 18. 62.

(*h*) Guicciardini's account of the Pope's recovery of his liberty is somewhat different. "Essendo spedite tutte le cose, et stabilito che il nono di di Decembre do-vessero gli Spagnuoli accompagnarlo in luogo sicuro, egli temendo di qualche varia-tione per la mala volontà che sapeva havere Don Ugo, et per ogni altra cagione, che potesse interrompere la notte dinanzi uscito segretamente al principio della notte in habito di mercatante del Castello, fu da Luigi da Gonzaga soldato de gli Imperiali, che con grossa compagnia di archibusieri aspettava ne' Prati, accompagnato insino a Montefiascone; dove licentiati quasi tutti li fanti, Luigi medesimo l'accompagno in-sino a Orvieto; nella quale Città entrò di notte." *Guicciardini, lib.* 18. 63.

mains of his fallen state, which envy ceased to think even worthy of her notice.—Buried, as it were, under his own ruins, and attended only by a council of five Cardinals, who had escaped by the chimneys of the rooms in which they had been confined, a contemptuous pity was the sentiment which his forlorn situation appeared naturally to inspire.—Clement's distress and humiliation had exceeded that of any of his predecessors since the days of Constantine, but by rare and singular good fortune he rose again at once, and recovered immediately and almost miraculously his Capital, his states, his authority, his temporal and spiritual grandeur, and even the reputation of a consummate politician.—Such a memorable example proves that dejection and despair alone render great disgrace and great misfortune often irretrievable.

Lautrec, seeing the Pope now at liberty, pressed him to renew his connections with the allied Powers, and he might reasonably have expected to have found him enraged against the Emperor, and ready to oppose his measures. But Lautrec had deceived himself, and could extort nothing from Clement but uncertain answers or vague excuses on the principles of his inability to comply with his inclinations.—As the French general advanced towards Naples, the Imperial army was under the necessity of evacuating Rome.—As soon as Clement the VIIth had derived this essential advantage from the French troops, he was less cautious of concealing his intentions,

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tentions, and declared very decidedly against being a party to the league.—Perfectly master of his own passions, and faithful to his own interests, instead of being blinded by resentment, he calmly contemplated what lay before him, and endeavoured to attach the Emperor, as he had occasion for his support in the restoration of the Medici Family at Florence.—To accomplish it insensibly and with less difficulty, he concealed his intentions under the mask of the profoundest dissimulation, and appeared merely to wish the Florentines would again acknowledge his Ecclesiastical authority, and give up the persecution of his friends. The new Republic was, however, too quick-sighted to be imposed on in this manner, and suspecting the snare that was laid for it, was on its guard against even Clement's moderation.

Adopts decidedly the Emperor's interest.—Treaty between him and the Emperor.

Lautrec's fatal catastrophe, and the defeat of the French army before Naples, determined the Roman Pontiff to throw himself into the Emperor's arms, who was equally desirous from many motives of a reconciliation. A treaty was concluded between them at Barcelona on very advantageous terms for the Pope, and the Emperor, as a pledge of his sincerity, gave his natural daughter in marriage to the Pope's nephew Alessandro; and in favour of the alliance undertook by force, if force was necessary, the restoration of the Medici Family at Florence.

Francis the Ist was also anxiously desirous of recovering

ing his son, who still remained as a hostage in the Emperor's hands, and eagerly wished for peace. He signed soon afterwards a treaty for that purpose at Cambray, submitted to very rigorous conditions, and engaged to interfere no further in the affairs of Italy.

Charles the Vth had now no longer his formidable rival to oppose him, and he turned his whole attention towards the accomplishment of the treaty of Barcelona.—The Prince of Orange was directed to march into Tuscany, to form a junction with the Ecclesiastical troops, and to act in concert with the Pope.—Clement had flattered himself with the hopes of success on very easy terms, but the Florentines prepared for a vigorous defence.—Amidst their military precautions they did not omit any thing likely to be of service to them; and they sent a deputation to the Emperor, who had landed at Genoa and had been called to Italy on his own concerns.—Charles received the Florentine envoys with great reserve and coolness, referred them to the Pope, and by that reference sufficiently explained his views.—Venice likewise abandoned the new Republic; but the French King, notwithstanding his fresh engagements, secretly encouraged it, less with the idea of affording any succours of consequence than through an apprehension of setting the Emperor too much at liberty.

The Florentines prepare to support themselves.

Italy in general now tasted the sweets of peace.—Florence

lence had the whole weight of the contest to support, every movement was directed against its territories, and the Prince of Orange conquered without much difficulty the greatest part of Tuscany. CHAP. IX.

Interview between Clement the VIIth and the Emperor.

The Roman Pontiff and the Emperor wished for another interview.—Rome might have suggested some unpleasant sensations, and the injuries the former had received and the latter had occasioned within the compass of its seven hills, might have been recollected with mutual reproaches or mutual regret. Bologna was therefore fixed on for the meeting, and the Emperor there received the Imperial Crown from the Roman Pontiff's hands.—An old French author has entered into a detail of this interview.

"Avant y aller, il y eut aucuns de ses favoris qui lui
"dirent qu'il seroit bien étonné qu'en faisant sa submis-
"sion au Pape, il lui feroit l'affront que fit l'un de ses
"prédécesseurs à l'Empereur Fréderic, et lui mettroit le
"pied sur la gorge, en récompense de ce qu'il l'avoit fait
"prendre, et tenir prisonnier si longtems. A quoy ré-
"pondit l'Empereur, s'il se jouoit à cela, je lui donne-
"rois de l'épée si étroit sur l'oreille, qu'il s'en ressou-
"viendrait pour jamais, et l'endormirois pour un long-
"tems; et pourtant, y songeant un peu, et ne voulant
"être pris sans gantelet, il alla par devers lui, non en

 "petit

" petit Prince s'humiliant; mais en vrai Empereur arro-
" gant, et avec telles forces, qu'il fit plus de peur au Pape,
" que le Pape à lui, &c. &c.

" Pour retourner encore à notre grand Empereur,
" quand il fut joint au Pape, il se mit à genoux, et lui
" baisa les pieds, et puis s'étant levé, il lui baisa la main;
" le Pape aussitôt (les siens lui ayant levé son mytre par
" derrière) le baisa à la joue. Cela fait, l'Empereur se
" remit encore à genoux, et le Pape avec un grand geste
" de faveur (ainsi dit l'histoire) le pria de se lever, et étant
" ainsy, il vint un de la suite de l'Empereur, qui tira une
" pièce d'or, de la bourse de drap d'or, qui la donna
" à l'Empereur, laquelle il offrit au Pape, lui disant,
" Pere Saint, graces soyent rendues à Dieu de là-haut,
" qui m'a concédé tant de grace, que je sois venu ici en
" toute sureté à baiser le pied de V. S. et être reçu d'Elle
" bénignement plus que je ne mérite, et par ainsi je me
" mets dès ores en votre sauvegarde. Quels mots fins et
" rusés que voilà, et quelle sauvegarde; puisque le Pape
" étoit en la sienne, et qu'il étoit le plus fort. De mesme
" en fit le loup, qui feignant d'estre chassé et d'avoir peur,
" se vint rendre en la sauvegarde de sa commère, madame
" la chèvre, et après la mangea, car elle vouloit faire de
" la galante avec lui. Mais notre Empereur ne fit pas
" de même sur le dernier point, et ne faut pas doûter
" pourtant, que, si le Pape eût voulu abuser de son au-
" torité, l'Empereur ne l'eût fait sauter haut comme une
" mitaine,

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" mitaine, et voilà pourquoi il fut très sage et bien advisé " de s'estre bien accompagné."

" Aussi fut sage le Pape, quand il lui dit, Ta Césarée " Majesté (c'estoit un grand mot celui-là du Pape) et sa " veue m'a esté fort désirée ; et pour ce je rends graces " à Dieu de vous avoir veu et reçeu, non comme Elle " mérite, et par ainsi nous nous mettons en sa garde. " C'étoit bien dit du Pape cela de se mettre en sa garde, " et sans feintise comme l'Empereur avoit dit la sienne, et " par ainsy cet Empereur demeura content, n'ayant rien " eu tant en affection que ce couronnement, pour plu- " sieurs raisons, et principalement qu'il n'estoit qu'à demi " Empereur, et ne l'apelloit-on que l'Esleu-Empereur, " non pas les Espagnols, qui l'apelloyent fort bien 'Em- " 'perador' tout à trac, sans le mypartir."

If the Emperor had on this occasion made use of the expression " Non tibi sed Petro," Clement perhaps would not have replied " Et mihi et Petro," like the haughty Alexander the IIId to Frederic Barbarossa.

Siege of Florence by the Imperial and Ecclesiastical troops under the command of the Prince of Orange.

The Prince of Orange pressed the siege of Florence, where the treacherous Malatesta Baglione commanded, who had been employed with more confidence by the Florentines, as his father had been put to death by Leo the Xth in the conspiracy of the Cardinal Petrucci.— Baglione held a secret correspondence with the enemy from

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from the first attack, but the citizens were determined on a defence to the last extremity.—Francesco Feruccio, one of those great and extraordinary characters that accidents or public convulsions draw from obscurity to display their virtues and their talents, signalized himself by his bravery and military genius. He was ordered to protect an escort of provisions, and on the road he was attacked with a superior force by the Prince of Orange.

The Prince of Orange and Francesco Feruccio killed in the same skirmish. Surrender of Florence.

This little combat was obstinately disputed, and both the Generals fell in the action (*a*).—Florence was however soon reduced to the last distress, and was under the necessity of capitulating.

The conditions were specious in appearance, in reality the unfortunate citizens were at the mercy of the conquerors. An enormous contribution was levied on them, every thing that had passed was to have been buried in oblivion, and the Pope and city to authorise the Emperor

Change of its Government. Subject to the Emperor's final decree.

to declare within the space of three months a new form of government without prejudice to their liberties.—Baglione was to retain possession of the city in the interval, with two thousand men under his command; but as soon

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(*a*) Guicciardini reports that Feruccio, who had been taken prisoner, was put to death after the action, as he had himself previously hung a trumpeter sent with a flag of truce. "Che così prigione fù ammazzato dal Maramaus per sdegno, secondo disse, conceputo da lui quando nell' oppugnatione di Volterra fece appiccare uno Trombetto mandato in Volterra da lui con certa imbasciata."

Guicciardini, lib. 20. 105.

soon as the capitulation was signed an Apostolical Commissary entered Florence, and Malatesta surrendered it into his hands.—An assembly of the people was immediately convoked, which elected twelve citizens attached to the House of Medici, and they restored every thing to its antient situation, till the Emperor published his award.—Imprisonment, punishment, and exile followed, and multiplied as usual (*b*).

Malatesta Baglione.

The character of Malatesta is authorized by the concurrent testimony of a crowd of historians, yet there are writers who have spoken more favourably of him, and pretend that the Florentines repaid his services with neglect, and recompensed him with ingratitude. They tell us that on his death-bed he called for his son, and asked him, "whether, if he should ever have it in his "power to be useful to the State, he would not expect an

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(*b*) "Malatesta Baglione ——— lasciò la città libera in arbitrio del Pontefice, dove, come furono partiti tutti i soldati, cominciarono i supplicii, et le persecutioni de' cittadini; perche quelli, in mano de' quali era pervenuto il governo, parte per assicurare meglio lo Stato; parte per lo sdegno conceputo contra gli autori di tanti mali, et per la memoria dell' ingiurie ricevute privatamente, ma principalmente, perche così fù, benche lo manifestasse a pochi, la intentione del Pontefice, interpretarono, osservando forse la superficie nelle parole, ma cavillando il senso, che il capitolo, per il quale si prometteva perdono a chi havesse ingiuriato il Pontefice, et gl' amici, suoi, non cancellasse le ingiurie, et i delitti commessi da loro nelle cose della Republica, però messa la cognitione in mano de magistrati, ne furon decapitati sei de' principali altri incarcerati, et relegatine grandissimo numero, per il che essendo indebolita più la Città et messi in maggiore necessita quelli che havevano participato in queste cose, restò più libera et più assoluta, et quasi regia la potestà de' Medici in quella Città." *Guicciardini, lib. 20. 105, 106.*

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"an adequate return for his services?" The young man having answered in the affirmative by a nod, "Very well, "my son," said the father, "then never serve a Republic."

Alessandro de' Medici placed by the Emperor's decree at the head of the Florentine Government.

After a delay of some months the Emperor's declaration appeared, which prescribed to Florence the same Government it had enjoyed under the Medici.—The patent placed Alessandro at the head of the Government, which was to extend to his son and legitimate posterity in a direct line, and on its failure to his next relations.

It was thus by insensible degrees that the House of Medici arrived at the Sovereignty of Florence.—Though the two Popes of that family had in fact contributed to its elevation, there would be still an error in supposing it had risen by pure Nepotism.—This abuse in the Court of Rome has been much decried in the other parts of Europe, notwithstanding family influence is more or less felt in every country, the happy one of Utopia excepted, where the virtuous citizen, on his election to the Supreme Magistracy, finished his functions as an individual the moment he was honoured with the voice of the public.

There are indeed three kinds of Papal families which should be attended to in the History of Modern Rome; those which the exaltation of one of the family has raised out of obscurity, and from the very dust of the earth; those who previous to such an honour had some

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rank or distinction, as the Cibo, the Borgia, Aldrovandi, Barberini, Pamphili, and a multitude of others; and lastly, the House of Savoy, the Colonna, the Ursini, and the Medici, who conferred as much dignity on the Triple Crown as they received from it.

The great point of the restoration of the Medici being at length secured, the warm friendship which had lately subsisted between the Emperor and Clement the VIIth began to cool.—These two Sovereigns had another interview, but their respective interests, (and it is by their interests that Kings are ruled), had changed, and the views of the two Powers were now very different. Charles was desirous of a Council to appease the troubles in Germany. The bare name of a Council shocked Clement, and he eluded a compliance with the Emperor's request under various pretexts. The Emperor wished also to get rid of a vast army, and pressed the conclusion of an alliance of all the Italian States to oppose the French arms, if they made any fresh attempt on Italy.—Clement saw with reluctance the formation of this league, but it was out of his power to prevent it.

Marriage of Catherine de' Medici with Henry Duke of Orleans.

The marriage of Catherine de' Medici was a third point on which Charles and Clement differed. The Emperor wished her to marry Sforza, whilst nothing was more opposite to the Roman Pontiff's wishes. He had listened with too much eagerness and pleasure to the French Monarch's overtures for her marriage with Henry Duke of Orleans,

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Orleans, second son of Francis the Ist, and a meeting to settle the nuptials had been fixed between them. Marseilles was the place, and his Holiness (*a*) there bestowed his

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(*a*) This interview produced, Monsr. Tenhove observes, the following facetious anecdote, which is related in the Annals of Acquitain, where Brantome found it: "Il y eut trois Dames, belles et honnêtes veuves, lesquelles pour les douleurs, ennuis et tristesses qu'elles avoyent de l'absence et des plaisirs passez de leurs maris, vinrent si bas et si fort atténuées, débiles et maladives, qu'elles prièrent M. d'Albanie, qui avoit bonne part aux graces du Pape, de lui demander dispense pour les trois de manger de la chair les jours défendus. Le Duc d'Albanie le leur accorda, et les fit venir un jour fort familièrement au logis du Pape, et pour ce en advertit le Roi, et qu'il lui en donneroit le passe-tems, et lui ayant découvert la baye, estant toutes trois à genoux devant S. S. Mr. d'Albanie commença le premier, et dit en Italien, que les Dames n'entendoient point; Père Saint voilà trois Dames veuves belles et bien honnètes, comme vous voyez, lesquelles ne veulent pour rien du monde aller en secondes nopces, pour ne faire tort à leurs marys et enfans, et parceque quelquefois elles sont tentées des aiguillons de la chair, elles supplient très humblement Vt S. de pouvoir avoir approche des hommes hors mariage, si et quantes fois qu'elles seront en cette tentation. Comment, mon cousin, dit le Pape, ce seroit contre les commandemens de Dieu dont je ne puis dispenser. Les voilà, Pere Saint, disoit le Duc, s'il vous plait les ouir parler."

"Alors l'une des trois prit la parole, et dit; Père Saint, nous avons prié Mr. d'Albanie de vous faire requeste très humble pour nous autres trois, et vous remonterer nos fragilitez et débiles compléxions. Mes filles, dit le Pape, la requeste n'est nullement raisonnable.

"Les dictes veuves, ignorantes de ce que lui avoit dit Mr. d'Albanie, repliquèrent: Père Saint, au moins qu'il vous plaise nous en donner congé trois fois la semaine. Comment, dit le Pape, de vous permettre le péché de luxure? je me damnerois. Les dictes connaissant alors la fourbe, dirent; nous ne parlons pas de cela Père Saint, nous demandons de manger de la chair, les jours prohibez. Là-dessus le Duc d'Albanie leur dit, je pensois que ce fût de la chair vive. Le Pape entendit la raillerie, et se prit à sourire, en disant, mon cousin vous avez fait rougir ces honnêtes Dames. Le Roi en rit bien fort avec le Pape, lequel après leur avoir donné sa bénédiction, leur octroya le congé qu'elles demandoyent, et s'en allèrent très contentes." *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 3. 519.

My female readers, who understand French, may probably smile; the fair ones who are yet strangers to this almost universal language may perhaps be spared a blush.

his benediction on this inauspicious union.—Every profession of friendship and regard was lavished by the two Sovereigns on each other, and Clement returned to Rome with honour and with glory.—By his address and industry he had extricated himself from the most deplorable situation, and the most piteous distress. He had been courted by Princes and Monarchs, and he had procured the most honourable establishment for his family. This last achievement was the most flattering, because it became almost a forlorn hope.—The rudder was again firmly in his hands, and the bark of St. Peter, of which he was the pilot, was no longer ungovernable, but obeyed the most trifling impulse that he chose to give it.—To complete his happiness a long life was only wanting. He survived (*b*) however but a little while his interview with Francis the Ist, and left the Pontifical Tiara to Alessandro Farnese (*c*), who took the name of Paul the IIId.

Death of Clement the VIIth.

During

(*b*) Guicciardini hath left us Clement the VIIth's portrait in great strength of colouring. "Morì odioso alla Corte, sospetto a' Principi, et con fama più presto grave, et odiosa, che piacevole: essendo riputato avaro, di poca fede, et alieno di natura da beneficare gli huomini; però benche nel suo Pontificato creasse trent'uno Cardinali, non creò alcuno per sodisfattione di se medesimo, anzi sempre quasi necessitato, eccetto il Cardinale de' Medici, il quale oppresso allhora da pericolosa infermità, et in tempo che morendo, lasciava i suoi mendichi, et destituti d' ogni presidio, creò più tosto stimolato da altri, che per propria et spontanea elettione; et nondimeno nelle sue attioni molti grave, molto circonspetto, et molto vincitore di se medesimo, et di grandissima capacità, se la timidità non gli havesse spesso corrotto il giudicio." *Guicciardini, lib.* 20. 112.

(*c*) Age and infirmities have been generally powerful recommendations to a wa-

Progress of the Reformation.

During the Pontificate of Clement the VIIth, the Reformation made great progress in Germany. The Court of Rome had seen with pleasure the violent opposition that Luther had met with amongst some of his own friends, and it flattered itself that the ridiculous, and even profane tenets of the first Anabaptists would have inspired a horror of any future innovations, and brought back the wandering Members of the Holy See into the bosom of the Church.—But the Court of Rome was disappointed.—Luther succeeded in restoring one half of his countrymen to their sense and understanding, and many of their neighbours happily caught the infection of the times, and got rid of a great part of that superstition which debases the beautiful simplicity of true theology, whilst it occasions a misconception of, and a disgust at Religion, the first consolation of human life.

England, the antient tributary to the Court of Rome, and which shook off the yoke under Clement the VIIth, was the greatest loss the Papal Monarchy had yet suffered.—This inestimable blessing however flowed from a corrupted source, the passions and the violence of a capri-

cious

vering or divided Conclave. The elder Cardinals flatter themselves with another speedy vacancy, and greater chance of promotion; the younger see with pleasure every fresh step that brings them nearer the Papal Chair. "Concorsero," says Guicciardini on this election, "i Cardinali più volentieri ad eleggerlo, perche essendo già nell' anno sessagessimo settimo della sua età, et riputato di complessione debole, et non bene sano, laqual opinione fu aiutata da lui con qualche arte, speracono havesse ad essere brieve Pontificato." *Guicciardini, lib.* 20. 112.

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cious tyrant (*d*). Such indeed was Henry the VIIIth, notwithstanding some good qualities that he possessed, though even those few royal virtues have been disputed by many of the Ecclesiastical historians.—Julius the IId was not certainly well versed in the page of futurity, when he thought of stripping the French King of the titles of "His Most Christian Majesty," and "The eldest Son of "the Church," to vest it by a decree of the Lateran Council on Henry the VIIIth. For a long time indeed he had been furiously attached to the Holy See, but after he had abandoned it he introduced successively more than one equivocal religious Creed into his kingdom, and it became literally the Island of Confusion in Rabelais.—The Roman Catholics who have accused Clement the VIIth of precipitancy, in his sentence of excommunication, reason from the event, and have forgotten that Henry's conjugal atrocities were less causes than occasions

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(*d*) "When Love could teach a Monarch to be wise,
And Gospel-Light first dawn'd from Anna Bullen's eyes."

So Mr. Gray thought and beautifully wrote.—In Lord Ossory's Park at Ampthill, there is also the following inscription:

"In days of yore here Ampthill's Tow'rs were seen,
The mournful refuge of an injur'd Queen!
Here flow'd her pure but unavailing tears,
Here blinded zeal sustain'd her sinking years;
Yet Freedom hence her radiant banners wav'd,
And Love aveng'd a Realm by Priests enslav'd.
From Catherine's wrongs a nation's bliss was spread,
And Luther's light from Henry's lawless bed."

H. W.

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sions in that important revolution.—Human passions are but instruments,

"Διος δ' ἐτελειετο βαλη."

Piero Martyro Vermiglio.

Piero Martyro Vermiglio, a Tuscan, had a great share in the Reformation in England, and the Father Jesuit Negri has dissected him with great acrimony. "The "blackness of this rebel to the Faith," he observes, "serves only as the shade in a picture, as a contrast to "the splendour of many of his countrymen. Florence "gave him birth, where he studied, but vanity or folly, "or both, turned his head, and overpowered his under-"standing, so that he quitted Italy, renounced the an-"tient and holy order which he had professed, and even "the Catholic Religion. The Apostate travelled after-"wards into many heretical countries, and losing all "sense of modesty and decency, established a profes-"sional chair, and read lectures at Strasbourg, Oxford, "and Zuric, where he was detested by the heretics them-"selves, and died miserably. As he had taught he wrote, "and he left many impious commentaries on the Holy "Scriptures (*e*)."

Shameful

(*e*) "Servirà il nero inchiostro di questo ribelle della fede come l'ombre alle pitture per far meglio spicare il candore di tanti e si numerosi suoi concittadini scrittori. Nacque e studiò in Firenze, ma, fosse o vanità, o insania, o l'una e l'altra, che gli guadagnò con l'intelletto, la volontà, lasciata l'Italia incontrò la grande sfor-

Shameful and virulent observations, when founded only on falsity, injure the cause meant to be defended by them, and Father Negri's polemical style is highly censurable for its violence and extravagance.

Clement the VIIth was desirous of opposing some mounds to the flood of Reformation that was so fast pouring in upon him, and he created or approved of many new Religious Orders, from whom he expected great and important services (*f*).—The Capuchins, those Faquirs of the West, or Modern Cynics, were established in his Pontificate, and composed of the reformed minor brothers of the seraphic St. Francis.—Metteo de Bassi and his brethren

Creation of new Religious Orders—Capuchins.

tuna d'essere sedotto, e d'abandonnare non solo l'antichissimo e santissimo ordine claustrale, in cui aveva professato, e le regole e le dottrine, ma la stessa religione Catolica, traversando in qualità d'apostata molte città eretiche, e perduta colla sinderesi ogni erubescenza, alzò catedra di falsi dogmi sotto nome di sagre lettere in Argentina, in Ossonio, e poscia in Zurigo, ove ostinato ne suoi errori, esoso agli stessi eretici, pessimamente morì. Accompagnò alla lingua la penna, scrivendo qual era da empio, moltissime opere e commenti sopra la Sagra Scrittura."

(*f*) Giannoni, who thought with Freedom and wrote with Integrity, has described the previous labours, and the fpirit of the CHURCH MILITANT under its DOMINICAN and FRANCESCAN GENERALS. "In quefti medesimi tempi a favor della Chiesa Romana sursero que' due gran lumi, Domenico, e Francefco, i quali colla lor santità resisi chiari da per tutto, fondarono le Religioni de' Predicatori, e de' Frati Minori, e furono piante così fruttifere, che i loro rampolli multiplicarono in guisa, che in breve si vide piena Europa di tanti VALOROSI COMMILITONI, i quali non risparmiando nè fatica, nè travaglio esponendosi ad ogni periglio, COMBATTERONO VALOROSAMENTE PER LI ROMANI PONTEFICI." *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli, lib. 15. cap. ult. tom.* 2. 365. 4to. 1723.

thren experienced at first many trials and tribulations, but Clement the VIIth attended very favourably to their request, and by a bull of separation dated at Viterba, 5th of the Nones of July, permitted them to live sequestered, and to wear their beards with the pyramidical cowl. This Order was however on the point of expiring on its very foundation. Their second General, Father Bernardo Ochino, a Tuscan, and a native of Sienna, as well as a celebrated preacher, married a Protestant of Geneva, and his innocent spiritual children were nearly involved in his apostacy. The Church of Rome supposed a pure stream could not flow from a turbid scource, and that infected branches must naturally shoot from a corrupted root. From the defection of the General of the Order the Pope determined to abolish the Capuchins, but their docility, their humility, and simplicity, saved them.—Envy was itself disarmed.—A Capuchin, perhaps, may not appear at first an object of much envy, yet of all the Religious Orders they are in possession of the greatest establishments, and notwithstanding they have not been much celebrated for their knowledge, their religious brethren have looked with longing and with jealous eyes upon them.—The Abbé St. Pierre, who is of opinion that human knowledge is regularly advancing, has said pleasantly, "the hour is fast approaching when "the Capuchin will be as learned as the Jesuit, and the "peasant as learned as the Capuchin,"—Yet it is to one of these

Bernardo Ochino.

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these honest Fathers that France owed its Lettres de Cachet, introduced in the bloody administration of the Cardinal de Richelieu (*a*).

Bernardino Ochino was of a very dubious character, and at last became obnoxious to the reformed Church into which he had entered. We have many of his works, principally composed of Dialogues. There is a considerable degree of orthodoxy and theology in them, with a mixture of strange and particular opinions, and whilst we are pleased with the former, the latter render both his understanding and his integrity rather questionable.— In his Twenty-first Dialogue he gives his sentiments on polygamy, and endeavours to justify it on various pretences, and to authorise it by the examples of the Patriarchs.—On the publication of these facts he was expelled the Swiss Ministry.

Theatins.

The regular clerks or Théatins date their Order likewise from Clement's Pontificate.—They had been established by St. Gaetan and by Caraffa who succeeded to the Papal See under the name of Paul the IVth, and as he was then Bishop of Chieti or Theate (as it is called by Latin writers), the new Order received the name of Theatins. It is not a numerous Order but a very opulent one, and

(*a*) Pere Joseph, the Cardinal de Richelieu's confidential friend.

and the essence of the institution consists in a total denial of earthly things.—"Search ye first the Kingdom of Hea-"ven, and all these things shall be added unto you" seems to be its first dogma.—This Order is, however, considered as a seminary of Bishops, and an asylum for the first nobility and families of rank. Their rules lay them only under trifling restraint, have nothing of austerity or mortification in them, and their habit differs only from that of the Jesuits, in the colour of their stockings.

Bernardins.

The Bernardins were also founded under Clement the VIIth.—The author of "the Ouranology" or "the "Heavenly Divinity of the Religious Orders" supposes the Jesuits to be placed in the centre of the Spiritual world like the sun in the Copernican system—that the Theatins and Bernardins supply the place of Mercury—and that this planet is so much absorbed in the sun's rays as to be scarcely visible.—The celebrated Father Frisi, one of the first geometricians of Europe, is at present of this Order.

Regular Congregation of Sommasque.

The regular congregation of Sommasque between Bergamo and Milan had also its origin under Clement's reign.—It is wholly devoted to the instruction of poor children, and the Father Della Torre belongs to it, so well known through Europe by his knowledge of every part of philosophy, the arts, and letters.—If Fortune is disposed to reward the merit of Father Piaggi his associate,

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ate, or bestow her favours on his scholars, literature may expect important services from them.—Father Piaggi invented the method of unrolling the Herculanean manuscripts.

Clement the VIIth established in 1531 the Inquisition in Portugal and the Portuguese settlements in India, where it has exercised its inhuman powers in a dreadful manner, if the account of the transactions at Goa are entitled to any credit.

Louis Alamandus was beatified by Clement the VIIth, notwithstanding he died excommunicated by Eugenius the IVth, and he had a companion in Pierri de Luxembourgh who died also in schism. These two instances are very embarrassing for the Ultramontane casuists, and prove that schismatics according to the doctrine of the Church may have a claim (*b*) to beatification and pretend to eternal happiness and glory.

Clement the VIIth had in common with his ancestors of the House of Medici a taste for the arts, the sciences, and letters, but though he cherished and protected them, they were still exposed to the misfortunes of his reign. These tender plants survived with difficulty the fury of storms

(*b*) *Launoi, Epist.* 2. *part.* 1. *p.* 79.

storms that rapidly succeeded each other, and the nightingale almost ceased to sing under the vulture's talons.

Machiavel.

We have some remaining poetry by Machiavel, but instead of considering him as a sweet and inoffensive nightingale, from his black and dusky character and his piercing eye he may be ranged more properly with the birds of prey.—This celebrated secretary of the Florentine republic under Piero Soderini was indisputably one of the profoundest of modern writers. His knowledge however was not equal to his genius and natural abililies.—Monsr. Grosley seems to have taken a view of him wholly on the favourable side when he says, "Both Ma-"chiavel and Boccacio are the less to be omitted among "illustrious foreigners, the Florentine disposition being a "mixture of the two authors."

Machiavel's excellent history of Florence was dedicated to Clement the VIIth, and is almost equal to any writing of antiquity. It is astonishing in what a close and nervous style he both relates the events which passed during the period of which he treats, and reasons on them. The first book in particular that includes the fall of the Western Empire is a perfect model for every historian who wishes boldly to soar above occurrences and take a view of them from a lofty and elevated station.—Leonardo of Arezzo and Poggi employed themselves on foreign history, Machiavel applied himself to the study

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dy of the intestine divisions of his own country.—Conspiracies appear to be his natural element, and he wanders from the plan he had proposed to himself, to delineate at length those, which cost the third Sforza and second Duke of Milan of that name, his life.—His profound dissertations on the first Decade of Livy are not of very considerable extent, but they have more matter than is often found in many ponderous volumes.—Yet the Reader should be on his guard, and should carry with him a strength of mind superior to the influence of the opinions he may meet with, and above seduction.—Two great men of our days and also two great thinkers Montesquieu and Hume appear to have read and studied the Florentine Secretary with peculiar attention.—Amongst his lesser works there is the Life of Castruccio Castracani, Lord of Lucca and the Imperial Vicar in Italy, which warmly interests the Reader. It is, however, an imitation of the Cyropædia, and the leading facts alone are to be found in history.—Machiavel embroidered in fact the work, and enriched it with a number of its most beautiful ornaments.—Villani, who never strayed into the regions of romance, represents Castruccio Castracani as valiant, magnanimous, prudent, penetrating, diligent, laborious, and intrepid, and consequently happy and successful in his enterprises and undertakings.

Machiavel's treatise on the Art of War is a masterpiece.—To give more weight to his precepts and theory, he

he has supposed them to come from Fabricio Colonna, a distinguished military officer, but this little artifice could not have succeeded, if the work had not been recommended by its own intrinsic merit. It is indeed the first regular system of military tactics, and it endeavours to restore that ancient discipline, which Vegetius believed to have been given to the Romans by the Gods.—Count Algarotti accuses Puysegur, Follard, and Marshal Saxe of borrowing very frequently ideas from Machiavel without acknowledging his right to them.—Bellay de Langey's famous work on military discipline, instead of being artfully stolen from that of the Florentine historian, is almost wholly taken from it, and almost a fourth of it is a mere translation of the Italian.

Two of Machiavel's comedies have been already mentioned. His Belphegor or the Devil's Marriage is universally known by La Fontaine's happy imitation of it, where he has softened down with inimitable grace the ruder masculine strength of the original.

Within these few years the Florentine Secretary's admirable project for the reformation of the government of Florence by the order of Leo the Xth has been published for the first time, and his zeal for the liberty and freedom of his country is visible in every page (*c*).—The outward

(*c*) *Baretti's Edition, 4to. London, 1772.*

outward appearance of sovereignty with all its attendant pomp and majesty, according to his plan, was to have been wholly vested in the Medici, whilst the real power was artfully contrived to rest with the people.—Leo the Xth saw through the design.—Machiavel was applauded, but from that moment ceased to be consulted.

Il Principe.

Of Machiavel's "Il Principe" or the Prince, what ideas are to be formed, and what are to be our opinions of the author?—Baretti, his last editor and a person of abilities, though an absurd and enthusiastic admirer of him, has not scrupled to consider him as one of the best of men. There are others who have not thought so disadvantageously of him as the world in general, and apply to him the Italian proverb "Satan is not wholly black (*d*)," which Machiavel himself versified. They suppose the Prince to be a continued strain of bitter irony rather than a code of perfidy, and that its author from a passionate regard for liberty (*e*) had laid open and exposed

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(*d*) "Quel che vede lo diavol da dovero,
Lo vede con men corna e manco nero."

(*e*) "Machiavellus Democratiæ laudator et assertor, acerrimus, natus, educatus, honoratus, in eo Reipublicæ statu, Tyrannidis summæ inimicus fuit. Itaque Tyranno non favet: sui propositi non est Tyrannum instruere; sed arcanis ejus palam factis ipsum miseris populis nudum et conspicuum exhibere." *Adam. Rupert.* (*ex Alb. Gentil*) *Dissert. ad Val. Maximum, lib.* 1. *cap.* 2, 3.

"Je dirai, que Machiavel, qu'on a fait passer par tout pour un Maitre de Tyrannie, l'a detestée plus que pas un homme de son tems, ainsi qu'il est aisi de voir par le chapitre 10 du premier de ses discours, où il parle tres fertement contre les Tirans." *Amelot de Houssaie, Preface de la Traduction du Prince.*

sed the secret springs and horrid mysteries of tyranny, to overwhelm it with the public infamy and indignation.—Yet it seems impossible to subscribe seriously to this opinion. Exclusive of the destructive maxims which are scattered more or less through all the Florentine Secretary's works, perhaps not a single trace of this supposed irony is to be discovered. Numerous as the excellent reflections are in this treatise, it must still be reckoned a most flagitious work, and one at which every virtuous mind must instantly revolt.—Nothing is so superb as the genius of Machiavel, nothing appears so horrid as his heart.—Hobbes and Machiavel, under the false and foolish pretext that the well-being of society has nothing in common with the well-being of the individual, which consists in virtue, have established their mode of government on fraud, despotism, injustice, and irreligion.—Such a theory is intolerable.—Infamous in private life are men collectively to be rigid moralists, and are we to expect a second legislator of Salentum with the sage politics of Mentor?

It is not in the power of Casuistry to conceal or palliate the infamy of the following infernal sentiments.

" It (*f*) should be remembered, that we ought either to " keep upon good terms with others, or to crush them " utterly if they are once provoked: because if the injury " that

(*f*) " Perchè si ha a notare, che gli uomini si debbono o vezzeggiare o spegnere,

" that is done them be but a slight one, they are left in a " capacity to return it; but if it is done to the purpose, " it will not be in their power: so that when a man re- " solves to injure another, he should do it in such a man- " ner as to cut off all possibility of revenge (*a*)."

" The (*b*) desire of acquisition is indeed very common " and natural to mankind; and when they attempt no- " thing more than they are able to perform, they will al- " ways be applauded, or at least not condemned for it: " but when they are not equal to the enterprises they en- " gage in, and still persist in them, they certainly de- " serve both censure and ridicule (*c*)."

After these sentiments it may be perhaps extraordinary to find a chapter " Di quelli che per scelerate sono par- " venuti al Principato," or of such as have arrived at do- minion by wicked and unjustifiable means."—Speaking of

perchè si vendicano delle leggieri offese; delle gravi non possono; sicchè l' offesa che si fa all' uomo deve essere in modo, che la non tema la vendetta." *Machiavelli, tom. 3. 403.*

(*a*) *Farneworth's Machiavel, vol. 1. 520.*

(*b*) " E' cosa veramente molto naturale e ordinaria desiderare di acquistare, e sempre quando gli uomini lo fanno che possino, ne saranno laudati e non biasimati; ma quando non possono e vogliono farlo in ogni modo, qui è il biasimo e l' errore." *Machiavelli, tom. 3. 407.*

(c) *Farneworth's Machiavel, vol. 1. 523, 524.*

of Agathocles, Machiavel observes, " A (*d*) man cannot " properly be called virtuous, who massacres his Fellow-" Citizens, betrays his friends, and has no regard to his " word and honour, or to religion and humanity: for " though indeed he may arrive at empire, he can never " acquire true glory by those means (*e*)."—Such language appears to have been dictated by the remains of involuntary conscience, which vice is scarcely ever able wholly to destroy.—Agathocles was not indeed the only person on whom the Florentine Secretary has vented his spleen; Oliverotto of Fermo came in for his share of it, but his character was notorious.—If the world has agreed in general that Machiavel is a venomous serpent, and only to be approached or handled with the greatest circumspection, it is perhaps ignorant that the celebrated Venetian theologian Paoli di Sarpi is like the bee armed also with a sting.—An allusion is not here meant to the immortal History of the Council of Trent, but to a political tract written at the requisition and by the orders of the government, in which amongst many others of the same import the following propositions are to be found.

Paoli di Sarpi.

" The first duty of a prince is to retain his situation.

" —Justice

(*d*) " Non si può chiamare ancora virtù ammazzare li suoi cittadini, tradire gli amici; essere senza fede, senza pietà, senza religione; li quali modi possono fare acquistare imperio, ma non gloria." *Machiavelli, tom.* 3. 424.

(*e*) *Farneworth's Machiavel, vol.* 1. 566.

"—Justice includes in it every thing necessary for the "safety of the state.—If it can be possibly avoided, a "noble ought never to be condemned to death, however "criminal he may have been, and if it cannot be avoid-"ed let him be put to death privately and spared the ig-"nominy of a public execution.—If an inferior person "has ill-treated a noble he is to be punished with every "severity.—Subjects are to be kept as much divided and "disunited as possible.—If a magistrate cannot always "be elected in the Patrician interest, choice should be "made of a person of mean abilities and of a worthless "character.—As to the Greek subjects of Candia, pro-"visions and correction are only necessary. When "their nobles tyrannize over them, no notice should be "taken of it; the eyes should be shut against their vexa-"tions that the country may be broken into separate in-"terests. If they make any attempt to emancipate them-"selves, let them be most rigorously punished.—Your "subjects in your Italian territories ought on every occa-"sion to be humiliated. Whatever differences may arise "amongst them, they will be in a double sense advan-"tageous to the state. They will create divisions or dis-"union and confiscations for the public benefit.—Exam-"ples of moderation are the mere caprices of sovereigns. "—If there be any bold or mutinous persons in the mu-"nicipalities of the different cities, they should be either "gained or destroyed at any price. If they are at the "head of any party they must be exterminated, whatever "may

"may be the consequence; but supposing them to be very powerful, it will not be safe to resort to the regular "and ordinary course of justice. Let poison do the business rather than the common executioner, for the advantage will be the same and the odium will be less."

Leaving Fra Paolo to return to Machiavel, the Florentine Secretary's "Il Principe", was not added to the Index Expurgatorius till long after his death. Exceptionable as it may be, its mischief has been perhaps over-rated, and it may not have been attended with the ill effects that have been generally imagined (*f*). A total suppression of it might be useful to society, if at the same time every history of the world could be suppressed. Whilst the annals of our crimes are in every hand, it is not Machiavel's Prince that will increase their number.—Both civil and ecclesiastical history furnish a black catalogue of the same pernicious maxims reduced from theory into practice.—If Machiavel's "Il Principe" had not appeared, we should not have been able to have boasted of the Anti-Machiavel, the fruit of the youth and solitude of one of the greatest monarchs that have ever reigned. The antidote is so delicious that even the poison becomes palatable,

(*f*) Lord Bacon appears to have entertained an opinion of its use. "Est quod gratias agamus Machiavello, et ejusmodi scriptoribus, qui apertè et indissimulanter proferunt quid hominis facere solent, non quid debeant." (*De Augment. Scient. lib.* viii. *cap.* 2.).—And of this opinion was also Wicquefort.

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palatable, and we swallow it with eagerness to taste the luscious medicine which counteracts its subtilty.

On Machiavel's tomb may be seen an epitaph highly to his honour:

> "Quisquis ades, sacro flores et serta sepulchro,
> Adde puer, cineri debita dona ferens.
> Hetruscæ Machiavellùs honos et gloria gentis,
> Hic jacet, hoc saxum non coluisse nefas."

But on the tomb are we to look for a faithful record of the vices and the virtues of the dead?—If the style is too flattering, that of the Jesuit Possevino is not liable to this objection. He expresses his sentiments in very decided terms on the future state of the Florentine historian, and assures his Readers that on the "Evening of the "Calends of April, 1527, the impious wretch vomited "forth his cursed soul."—"Nebulo ille impius evomuit "damnatam animam (*g*)."

Notwithstanding the number of able men, who have filled the office of Secretary to the Florentine Republic, whenever the expression "Il Segretario, the Secretary," or "Il Segretario Fiorentino, the Florentine Secretary," is

(*g*) We meet with the same charitable sentiment in another author. "Blasphemans evomuit improbum spiritum." *Th. Raynaud de bonis et malis libris. Num.* 46.

is made use of, it invariably relates to Machiavel.—In such estimation are his talents !

Pietro Aretino

Pietro Aretino, another Tuscan writer and Machiavel's cotemporary, is no less exceptionable, though on different grounds and for different reasons. The name of "Il "Divino, or the divine," has been prostituted by its addition to his own, but "Il flagello de Principi, the scourge "of princes," which he had the insolence to insert in all his works, marks very strongly the abuse of his slender abilities (*h*). Yet both these surnames have consecrated him for ever by Ariosto's use of them, where he congratulates himself on the great men who have rejoiced at his success, and cries out

"———— Ecco il Flagello
De Principi, il Divin Pietro Aretino."

Instead

(*h*) Battista Tornicelli, in a letter to Aretino, observes, "Non sapete voi, che con la penna vostra in mano havete soggiato piu Principe, ch' ogni altro potentissimo Principe con l'arme ? La Penna vostra à qual non mette terrore, à quale non è formidabile, à chi anche non grata ; à chi non cara, ove si mostra amica ! La Penna vostra si puo dir, che v' ha fatto trionfator quasi di tutti i Principi del mondo, che quasi tutti vi sono tributarii, et come enfeudati. Meritareste esser chiamato Germanico, Pannonico, Gallico, Hispanico, et finalmente insignito di quei titoli, quali si davano a gli antiche Imperadori Romani, secondo le Provincie për loro soggiate : che se quelle soggiagavano le Provincie për forza d' arme, et per esser piu di loro potenti non era gran meraviglia maggior meraviglia assai è, che un privato, inerme, naggio soggiagato infiniti potenti ; che l'un potente l'altro, non è meraviglia." *Venice*, 1558. *appresso Domenico Giglio*.

Instead of despising this infamous satirist, his libels were applauded and esteemed. Flattery, presents, pensions poured in upon him, the Learned paid their court to him, and Princes and Sovereigns were solicitous to please him and obtain his favour and his friendship (*i*). Charles the Vth was his principal hero, as he was highly munificent to him the Poet praised him in very indecent and improper language. "What thanks," Aretino writes to him, "ought not I to return your Majesty, who has "conferred such obligations on me, whilst I am no more "in comparison of you than the most trifling sin to the "mercy of Jesus Christ." Francis the Ist had kept him long in expectation of a present, that he ought never to have made him, and Aretino complained with an insolence, that would not have been credible if the letter was not still existing. "Three years ago your Majesty promised "me

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(*i*) "Io mi risolvo pensando che l'umanità non debba esser in V. S. inferiore a quella divinità che se gli attribuisce, secondo me non tanto per li miracoli del suo felicissimo ingegno, quanto per la perfezione di quelle virtù, che le deifica l'animo, trà le quali è necessario che la cortesia sia grandissima, degnandomi ella di quel che con tanta ambizione de' principi si desidera, e con tanti loro tributi si premia; cioè di offerirmisi per amico." *Arnib. Caro.*

Berni had, however, more spirit, and expressed his opinion of him very freely.

"Tu ne dirai e farai tante e tante,
Lingua fracida, marcia, senza sale,
Ch'alfin si troverà pur un pugnale,
Miglior di quel d'Achille e più calzante.

Il Papa è il Papa, e tu sei un fursante,
Nutrito del pan d'altri e del dir male.
Hai un piè in bordello, e l'altro alla spedale,
Storpiataccio, ignorante e arrogante."

"me a golden chain, and I begin to think the coming of "the Messiah, which the Jews expect, is as doubtful as "your performance of your promise. I would tell the "world that your Majesty is adorned with all the virtues, "greatness of soul, justice, clemency, and liberality, "but I fear it would be taken for irony, and I should be "accused of insincerity."

Though Pietro Aretino boasted he had tributary Princes and Kings (*k*), his libels at times exposed him to difficulties

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(*k*) Henry the VIIIth not only allowed him a pension but left him a legacy, if we are to believe the evidence of William Thomas, Clerk of the Closet to Edward the VIth, and a Prebend of St. Paul's, who was the author of "a Defence of Henry the VIIIth against the slanders of tyranny," with the following dedication to Pietro Aretino.

"To Mr. Peter Aretine the right natural Poet.

Lyke as many tymes the wyld wodds and barrayne mountaynes yeld more delite unto the seldome traveyled citizen, then do the pleasant orchardes and gardens, whose bewtye and fruite he dayly receyveth; so hath it now pleased me rather to direct this my little booke unto thee, whose vertue consisteth onely in nature without any arte, then unto any other, whome i know both naturall vertuous and learned withall, specyally because *i understand that the kynge* (in defence of whose honour i have made it) *hath remembred thee with an honourable legacy by his testament*, which his enemies pretend proceded of the feare he had lest thou shouldest after his death defame hym with thy wonted evil speach; But to let them wete, that no man with right can slander hym, and to open also unto thee, parte of his worthy and glorious doyings, whereof if thou wylt, thou mayist justly speake unto his greate honour; i have in this litle worke brefely declared the most parte of such successes as have happened in his life dayes, with the occasion that thereunto moved me, and have thought good to participate unto thee, to the entent, that if any person should repugne against it, thow with the mountaigne of thy naturall reasons showldest have matter sufficient accordingly to defend it. In which doinge thou shalt partely satisfie bothe unto the verie truthe, and also unto the good memorie that so noble a kynge hath deserved of thee."

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ficulties and personal danger. His famous sonnet on Marshal Strozzi

"Mentre il gran Strozzi arma Virumque cano"

nearly cost him his life. The Marshal, who was of a character that was not to be trifled with, burst into the poet's room with an intention of sacrificing him to his resentment, and Aretino only saved himself by prayers and entreaties and a direct denial of the sonnet.

One of his most celebrated works, but as infamous as it is celebrated, is that with the title of "Capriciosi e piacevoli Ragionamenti." This shameful production is divided by days, and contains the lives of Nuns and Abbesses, married Ladies and Prostitutes. All the Florentine Females of dubious or ruined reputation pass in review, with an indecent commentary on their actions. But "Cupimus cloacas quam longissimè ab ædibus nostris abesse."

From Pietro Aretino's translation of the Psalms, it has been weakly supposed that he had seen the errors of his youth, had quitted his vicious course of life, and died a penitent (*a*), but nothing is more erroneous.—His works, in

(*a*) On this supposition it was said of Aretino, "Ubi benè, nemo melius: ubi

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in general, are exceptionable on account of their ignorance, his pedantic style, and many imperfections of the head and heart. Few of them are now read, but his epitaph is not yet forgotten (*b*).

The

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malè, nemo pejus;" and there is an epigram on his paraphrase of the seven Penitential Psalms:

"Sice livre unit le destin
De David et de l'Aretin
Dans leur merveilleuse science
Lecteur, n'en sois pas empêché,
Qui paraphrase le PECHE,
Paraphrase LA PENITENCE."

Yet the following observations seem to prove that the idea of Aretino's reformation is not to be substantiated by the mere publication of his Treatises on some religious subjects. "L'Aretin ne composoit des Œuvres de Pieté, que pour exercer son imagination, et pour faire voir qu'il etoit capable de tout, pour appaiser les devots irritez contre lui, et pour s'attirer des liberaliter de la part de quelques grandes Dames, à qui il envoioit des exemplaires de ces sortes de livres. Il n'en etoit pas, pour cela plus sage, puis qu'après avoir publié sa Paraphrase sur les sept Pseaumes, et son HUMANITA DI CHRISTO, en 1535, il avisa, sur la fin de 1537 de dedier a Battista Zatti, de Bresse citoien Romain, ces postures infamés, dont on a tant parlé, au bas de chacune desquelles il avoit mis un Sonnet aussi deshonnête, comme dit Mr. Felibien, que les actions representées. L'Epitre dedicatoire à ce Battista Zatti se trouve dans le 1. Volume des Lettres de l'Aretin. Il paroit aussi par la peinture que cet auteur fait de ces mœurs dans la ccxc Lettre du iv Volume cinquante septieme année de son age, il n'en menoit pas une vie moins licentieuse. L'endroit où il parle de l'interruption qu'il est oblige de faire en ecrivant cette lettre, est quelque chose de fort singulier. . . . . On peut voir aussi la ccccxxxix lettre du même volume, où l'on reconnoitre qu'il faisoit profession d'une morale peu scrupuleuse."

Mons. de la Monnoie, Remarques Manuscrites.

(*b*) "Qui giace l'Aretin, amaro tosco
Del sem' uman, la cui lingua trafisse
E vivi e morti; d'Iddio mal non disse,
E si scusò col dir, io nol' conosco."

Which has been compressed in Latin:

"Condit Aretini cineres lapis iste sepultos
Mortales atro qui sale perfricuit.

The Prelate Trissino (*c*) of Vicenza was Clement the VIIth's train-bearer at the coronation of Charles the Vth, in

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Trissino.

Intactus Deus est illi, causamque rogatus
Hanc dedit, ille inquit non mihi notus erat."

And spun out in French:

" Le tems, par qui tout se consume,
Sous cette Pierre a mis le corps
De l'Aretin, de qui la plume
Blessa les vivans et les morts.
Son encre noircit la memoire
Des Monarques de qui la gloire
Est vivante après la trepas.
Et s'il n'a pas contre Dieu même
Vomi quelque horrible blaspheme,
C'est qu'il ne connoissoit pas."

(c) Giovanni Ruccellai attributes sentiments to him very far from orthodox, and bordering on Averroism:

" . . . . la grand' anima del mondo,
Sta come auriga, e'n questa cieca mole,
Infusa, muove le stellate sfere,
L'eterea plaga, e quel, dove si crea,
Il folgore, la pioggia, et la tempesta,
E la monstrosa machina del mare,
Su'l grave globo della madre antica.
Di qui gli uomini tutti, e gli animali,
E gli armenti squamigeri, e i terrestri,
Le mansuete bestie e le selvagge,
Picciole e grandi, reptili e alate,
Haver primo principio, haver la vita,
Havere il moto, il senzo e la ragione,
E certa providentia del futuro.
A questa ritornar l'anime nostre,
Et in questa risolversi ogni moto;
Per questo esser celeste e immortale,
L'anima in tutti i corpi de' i viventi,
E ritornare al fin nel suo principio,

CHAP. IX.

in preference to many Princes who had solicited that honour. His Epic Poem on the delivery of Italy from the Goths, "L'Italia liberata da i Goti," effectually disqualifies him from the office of train-bearer to Homer, and if he ever imitates him, it is only when the great Poet slumbers.—When Prometheus stole the fire from Heaven to animate his human figure, Trissino was not certainly an accomplice in the theft.—Of all writers Trissino is the dullest and the coldest, and of him may be truly said—

"Impetus ille jacet vatum qui pectora nutrit."

A mortal languor is spread through the whole poem, and its soporific qualities are like those of opium. Yet there is some justice to which he has a title. His works are free from the "concetti" of the times, forced conceits, a play upon words, and the absurdities which were then in fashion. But the absence of faults and blemishes is dearly purchased by the absence of elegance and every beauty.—Belisarius is the hero.—Trissino's feeble crayons were

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L'uno a le chiare stelle e l'altro al sole.
Questo si bello, e si alto pensiero,
Tu primamente rivocasti in luce,
Come in conspetto de gli umani ingegni,
TRISSINO, con tua chiara e viva voce;
Tu primo i gran supplicii d'Acheronte,
Ponesti sotto i ben fondati piedi,
Scacciando la ignorancia de i mortali."

Le Api di Giov. Ruccellai.

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were not able to paint the intrepid warrior, and we must search for his likeness from the pen of Marmontel, or the pencil of Vandyke (*d*).

Trissino is likewise the author of Sophonisba, the first regular tragedy in the Italian language, which has been highly celebrated.—It is written with purity and historic truth, the three unities have been religiously adhered to, and, considering the time when it appeared, for Ruccellai was not then known, it may be styled a prodigy.—Sophonisba, however, after all, consists of long declamations, broken into sometimes by the chorus and endless recital, without action, intrigue, warmth, or passion.—The antient Greek tragedy on its revival in Italy indeed degenerated, and the Sophonisba, Rosmonda, and Orestes, have not been even in our days surpassed by any of its modern authors.—The Torismondo of Tasso, the great Tasso, is also cold, and the late translator of his Jerusalem has not been able to infuse any warmth into it from his ardent prose.

Francesco Berni.

Francesco Berni, of a noble Florentine family, and a native of Lamporecchio in Tuscany, was the author of the famous poem of the "Orlando Inamorato," a subject taken from Bojardo, and handled in such a manner that the

(*d*) The "Date Obolum Belisario," in the Duke of Devonshire's collection, is well known.

the original has been forgotten.—Bojardo, Count of Scandiano near Modena, wrote towards the end of the preceding century; and of all the Italian poets he has the most fruitful imagination, with the richest invention.—Unfortunately his versification is poor and feeble. Berni, his imitator, is one of the present favourite poets of Italy, and breathes gaiety and grace in almost every line.—His easy flowing diction is unequalled, but to give it its last finish is said to have been for him a work of incessant labour and extraordinary pains.—D'Alembert, in his elogium of Boileau, has classed poets in three divisions:—those who have written with great difficulty laboured verses—those who have been the authors of easy verses written with difficulty—and those who have easily produced very easy verses.—Berni belongs to the second class.—Natural negligence appears sometimes like affectation, but few poets have been so much upon their guard against it as the author of the second Roland, who has copied nature rather than Bojardo.—Instead of endeavouring to represent the character necessary to be introduced, he is the character itself.—Notwithstanding the extreme length of the "Orlando Inamorato," which exceeds that of the "Roland Furioso," its lively festivity and pleasantry animate and interest the reader.—Berni has given the name to this species of poetry, which has been called after him "Il Bernesco," but the elegant original has occasioned a thousand stupid copies.—The Prelate Fortinguerra, the friend of Benedict the XIVth, and

and the author of Richardet, is alone to be excepted.—Berni has been sometimes called the Italian Scarron, but the husband of Frances D'Aubigné has certainly been too much honoured in the comparison.—A nice and discriminating taste is not the lot of many, but they who are blessed with this intellectual touch-stone can never confound the amiable and graceful levity of Berni with the coarse and clumsy buffoonery of Scarron.

CHAP. X.

ADRIAN the VIth—Michelagnolo—Julius the IId—Michelagnolo's Statue of Moses—Dome of St. Peter's—His last Judgment—Il Rosso—Pontormo—Antonio Gallo—Granaccio—Montelupo—Piero Torrigiani—Clement the VIIth's Medals—Lorenzo the son of Piero de' Medici—marries Maddalena de Tours—Death of Lorenzo de' Medici and his Consort—Birth of Catherine de' Medici—Clarice de' Medici marries Filippo Strozzi—Character of Clarice—her exertions at Florence—Filippo Strozzi put himself at the head of the Florentine Exiles—Declared a Rebel and his Property confiscated—Surprised at Montemurlo and taken Prisoner—Puts himself to death, and leaves a Paper with his reasons for dying by his own hands—His Character—Lorenzo Strozzi—Piero Strozzi—Death of Piero Strozzi—Leone Strozzi—His Death—Roberto Strozzi—Lorenzo Strozzi—Louisa Strozzi—Pallas Strozzi—Alessandro Strozzi—Ciriaco Strozzi—Lorenza Strozzi—Giovanni Batista Strozzi, "Il Cieco"—Piero Strozzi—Carlo Strozzi—Leone Strozzi—Ippolito de' Medici—Created a Cardinal—Alessandro de' Medici placed at the Head of the Florentine Government—Death of the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici—His Character—Asdrubale de' Medici.

CHAP. X.

IF Adrian the VIth, the predecessor of Clement the VIIth, had reigned any length of time, and old age or poison had not removed him from a world, which was not worthy of him, and for which he was not fit, what happened when the barbarians took Rome by storm might have also happened in his days.—This honest Professor of Louvaine had no taste whatever for the Arts or Sciences, and considered every picture and every statue, except a crucifixion or some other religious subject, as useless, hurtful, and profane.—He threatened to deface and destroy them, and every branch of Virtù began to droop or wither.—Another Pope was chosen out of the House of Medici, and in the same moment Letters, Arts, and Sciences recovered a portion of their former strength

Adrian the VIth.

strength and vigour. Yet the year 1527 was a fatal year to them, and will be for ever marked in blacker characters in their history, and also in that of Rome.

Michelagnolo.

Michelagnolo, who was born in 1474, survived Clement the VIIth many years, and died at ninety, but as he was at the head of the Florentine school, there would be more propriety in placing him before his scholars.

To form a complete knowledge of this great artist, who was equally distinguished as a painter, a sculptor, and an architect, it will be necessary to study him minutely.

Sprung from a noble Florentine family, the antient house of the Counts de Canossa, he discovered even in his infancy his wonderful abilities in all the arts connected with drawing or design.—After living some time under the great Lorenzo de' Medici, he hurried to Rome to finish his education by the study of antiquity. The Roman Pontiff, Julius the IId, whose projects were boundless, and whose pride pretended to insure him immortality, was desirous of erecting himself a tomb that might vie in magnificence with the Mausoleums of the Antients.—Michelagnolo was employed on some statues which were intended for its ornaments, but the work remained unfinished.—The literary histories of the times are full of many pleasant little anecdotes of what passed

Julius the IId.

every

every day, in which the impetuosity, the spleen, and the contradiction of his Holiness were humorously opposed by the pert vivacity of the sculptor. CHAP. X.

One of the most beautiful statues of this artist was destroyed. It was that of Julius, which only stood a few years in the great square at Bologna, and was demolished from an absurd and outrageous resentment when the Bentivoglio family became possessed of the Government. —The Sculptors in general are used to represent the Pope seated, but Julius wished to appear erect, and in the act of bestowing his benediction or his curses with one hand. Michelagnolo having proposed to put a book into the other, "Give me a sword," replied the Pope, "I am not a man of letters (*a*)."—In the same manner Commodus the son of Faustina, and a Gladiator, had a Medusa's head at the breast to give his medals a more terrible and threatening air.

The

(*a*) "Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, et sævus, talia verba refert;
Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit."

"Girt with a sword, the Pontiff hurls the keys
In Tiber's streams, and utters words like these:
Since Peter's keys in war's dire conflict fail,
Paul's sword, more efficacious, may prevail."
Seward's Anecdotes.

CHAP. X.

The admirable statue of our Saviour expiring on the Cross, which may be seen at the Santa Maria sopra Minerva, is one of those that will be the eternal envy and despair of all future artists. It is astonishing how the absurd fable of Michelagnolo's having crucified a person as a model should ever have been believed; yet Pergolesi, the celebrated musician, has also been accused of the same barbarous expedient to give a greater force of expression to the "Stabat Mater," one of the most perfect pieces of modern music. Almost all the lives of great men are however disfigured with tales which are not intitled to more credit.

On the subject of the sleeping Cupid we are told, in the Memoirs of the Life of the President de Thou, "that he "saw the Cupid at Mantua, in the Gallery of Isabella "Princess of Est, which was not shewn till it had been "prodigiously commended—that the whole company, "with Monsr. de Thou, who had great taste, having "minutely examined it, unanimously allowed it exceed-"ed every thing they had heard of it—that when they "had feasted their eyes with raptures on its beauties they "were then shewn another Cupid, that had been carefully "concealed under a silken covering, and was the Cupid "on which so many of the antient Greek Epigrams had "been written—that on a comparison of the statues the "spectators blushed for their former sentiments—and "that

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"that the modern Cupid appeared a mere block of mar-
"ble (*b*)."

Monsr. Falconnet has criticised this anecdote, and judiciously remarked, "that if the company and Monsr. de "Thou had any taste, the Cupid could never have charm- "ed them so much, before they had seen the antient one, "supposing it to have been a mere block of marble— "that persons of taste only make comparisons on the dif- "ferent degrees of beauty and perfection, and can never "be so much imposed upon as to mistake a clumsy piece "of workmanship for an excellent or an animated statue "—and that the master-piece of Buonaroti, which they "had

(*b*) "Mantuæ inter rara pleraque ab Isabellâ Attestinâ aviâ præstantis ingenii heroinâ loco spectabili studiosè congesta, rem sibi commemoratione dignam vidisse narrabat Thuanus. Cupido dormiens e Lunensi marmore adhuc luculento, a Mich. Angelo Bonarotâ, qui architecturam, statuariam, picturam, a priscis sæculis intermortuas artes diebus nostris quasi in vitam unus revocasse creditur, sculptus, post multam operis admirandi prædicationem Foxio ostensus est; qui conspectus ab astantibus, et a Thuano ipso, qui his artibus summé delectabatur, quaquaversum curiosis oculis lustratus, omnem de eo factam antea commendationem superare videbatur. Tum, post satis diutinam admirationem ad stuporem usque spectantium provectam, quasi ex machinâ ex serico fasciolo, quo involutus erat, alter promptus, antiqui operis, et qualem tot Græcorum epigrammatum certatim in eam rem factorum mirâ arte expressum legimus; e terrâ, ut erutus erat, adhuc luteus; qui cum novo comparatus, statim effecit, ut astanteis prioris judicii summa consensione suppuderet, et antiquum quasi marmor spirans cuncti faterentur; novum tanquam lapidem jacentem iidem, qui tantoperè laudaverant, præ altero despicerent: aiebantque e domesticis nonnulli, ipsum Bonarotam, hominem inter omneis sæculi sui artifices maximè ingenuum, cum Isabellæ suum Cupidinem altero viso offerret; enixè rogasse, ut eo ordine utrumque opus spectaretur, ut eâ comparatione cuncti discerent, quantum hodierna ætas priscæ in his artibus concedat."

"had just determined to exceed every thing they had "been told of, could not in an instant have been reduced "to a mere block of marble."

The Bacchus in the Florentine Gallery, the dying Adonis, the David, and Nostra Signora della Pietà, are likewise statues which the Italians term "Precettive."—When Michelagnolo finished the last group he was criticised for having given the mother too much youth in comparison of the son. The objection he answered very seriously by the observation, "that if the virtuous part of the female "sex retain their youthful charms longer than the vicious "or galant, the Holy Virgin ought still to have even a "greater share of youth and beauty, who had never "known even an irregular desire."—Condivi, his scholar and historian, adds, "the answer would not have disgraced "the profoundest theologian (*c*)."

Michelagnolo's statue of Moses.

There is not a single statue of Michelagnolo more famous than that of Moses in the Church of Santo Pietro ad Vincula.—If the Jewish legislator, who is represented sitting, is not quite correct in the attitude, and his dress is

(*c*) "In essa Madre ripresero alcuni l'essere troppo giovane rispetto al figluolo. Del chè ragionando io con Michel-Agnolo un giorno. 'Non sai tu, mi rispose, che le Donne caste, molto più fresche si mantengono che le non caste? Quanto maggiormente una Vergine, nella quale non cadde mai pur un minimo lascivo desiderio, che alterasse quel corpo?' ——— Consideration degnissima di qualunque Teologo." *Condivi, Vità di Michel. Agn.*

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is not strictly oriental, every connoisseur is in ecstasy at the figure, the air of the head, and the "LAW OF GOD" written so legibly on his countenance and between the eye-brows (*a*).—Zappi's beautiful sonnet on this beautiful statue is almost as much celebrated (*b*).

Vasari relates as a fact what is very improbable, that great numbers of Jews came on every Sabbath in crowds (*c*) to pay their homages to this statue, but Bottari

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(*a*) "Loi de Dieu gravée entre les sourcils."

(*b*) "Chi è costui, che in dura pietra scolto,
Siede gigante, e le più illustri e conte,
Prove dell' arte avanza, e ha vive e pronte,
Le labbia sì, che la parole ascolto:
Questi è Mosè: ben mel' diceva il folto,
Onor del mento, el doppio raggio in fronte.
Questi è Mosè quando scendea dal monte,
E gran parte del Nume avea in volto.
Tal' era allor, che le sonanti e vaste,
Acque ei sospese a se d'intorno, e tale
Quando il [illegible] chiuse, è ne fè tomba altrui.
E voi sue turbe un rio vitello alzaste?
Alzato aveste immago a questa eguale,
Ch'era men fallo l'adorar costui."

(*c*) "Finì il Mosè di cinque braccie di marmo, allaqual statua non sarà mai cosa moderna alcuna, che possa arrivare di bellezza, e delle antiche ancora si può dire il medesimo, avvegnachè egli con gravissima attitudine sedendo posa un braccio sulle tavole, che egli tiene con una mano, e con l'altra si tiene la barba, la quale nel marmo svellata e lunga è condotta di sorte, che i capelli, dove ha tante difficoltà la scultura, son condotti sottilissimamente piumosi morbidi e sfilati d'una maniera, che pare impossibile, che il ferro sia diventato pennello; ed in oltre alla alla bellezza della faccia, che ha certa aria di vero Santo e terribilissimo Principe, pare,

tari considers it as one of Vasari's Rhodomantades (*d*).—Vasari has likewise extravagantly observed, "that the "great Law-giver of the Jews might boast of being still "a greater favourite with his Maker, as his scattered "limbs had already been collected, and his body pre-"pared by Michelagnolo, ready to be reanimated at the "resurrection (*e*)." But "RIEN N'EST BEAU QUE LE "VRAI; LE VRAI SEUL EST AIMABLE."—Yet Vasari's hyperboles may be preferable to Mons. Falconnet's severe censures.—Of all the modern writers his remarks are most acrimonious on this master-piece of art, though he does Michelagnolo the justice to admit that species of merit, in which he does not wish to rival him. Mons. Falconnet may yet live to change his sentiments if any motive should carry him into Italy. What makes such a change of opinion not improbable, is the mode of expression he makes use of, after having studied the two slaves

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che mentre lo guardi, abbia voglia di chiedergli il velo per coprirli la faccia: tanto splendida e tanto lucida appare altrui; ed ha sì bene nel marmo ritratto la Divinità, che Dio haveva messo nel santissimo volto di quello. ——— Seguitino pure gli Ebrei di andare, come fanno ogni Sabato, a schiera e maschi e femmine, come gli storni, a visitario e adorario, che non cosa umana ma divina adoreranno."

Vasari, tom. 2. 727.

(*d*) "Non è ora vero, che gli Ebrei vadano a schiere a venerare questa statua, poichè ella è in chiesa presso all' altar maggiore, onde ne gli Ebrei entrerebbero in Chiesa, ne vi sarebbero lasciati entrare. ——— Qui è un esagerazione del Vasari."

Bottari.

(*e*) "Moisè può più oggi che mai chiamarsi amico di Dio, perchè tanto innanzi a gli altri ha voluto mettere insieme, e preparargli il corpo per la sua resurrezione, per le mani di Michel-Agnolo." *Vasari, tom.* 2. 727.

slaves of Michelagnolo that Marshal Richelieu brought from his country-seat to Paris. It was with enthusiasm he cried out, "I have seen Michelagnolo; he is terrific (*f*)."—A correct estimate of Michelagnolo's merit as a sculptor is best collected from Benvenuto, another great artist. "A statue," he says, "has eight points of view, and "undoubtedly some few statues are to be found where "the same attention has been bestowed on all these eight "sides, and they have been equally well finished. The "first sculptors however have usually satisfied themselves "with their success on one or two sides, but Michelag-"nolo carried his wishes much farther, and succeeded in "the beauty of every aspect. This is his distinctive and "characteristic merit (*g*)."

Michelagnolo was also celebrated as an architect, and the remains of his divine genius are the most beautiful ornaments of even modern Rome. She is indebted to him for the Porta Pia, and the face of the Porta del Populo,

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(*f*) "J'AI VU MICHEL-ANGE; IL EST EFFRAYANT."

(*g*) "Una statua di scultura deve avere otto vedute, e conviene, che elle sieno tutte di egual bontà; il perchè avviene che molte volte lo scultore manco amorevole a tale arte si contenta d'una bella veduta, insino in due; e per non durare fatica di limare da quella bella parte, e porlo in su quelle sei non tanto belle, gli vien fatta molto scordata la sua statua, e per ognuno da dieci gli è biasimata la sua figura, girandola intorno di quello, che alla prima veduta ella si dimostra; dove qui si mostrò l'eccellenza di Michel-Agnolo per avere osservato, quanto tale arte merita, e per mostrar maggiormente la grandezze di tale arte." *Lettera del Cellini al Varchi, fra le pittoriche, T. 1. p. 13.*

pulo, towards the suburbs. On the pompous antient ruins he laid the foundation of the third Capitol, where the Warrior has ceased to have any intercourse, and has been exchanged for the Recollet. The great stair-case, which has two flights of steps, was built under his immediate direction, and the palace which now forms one of the wings of this edifice, as remarkable for its elegance as the excellence of the work, was entirely his design.— The Farnese Palace was likewise finished by Michelagnolo, and though it is not a building of vast dimensions it is one of the most magnificent in Rome. It was pretended that Paul the IIId, to supply the materials for its construction, demolished a part of the Coliseum, which looks towards the West. It is however a vulgar prejudice, and void of truth, for Marangoni in his "Anfiteatro "Flavio," and other antiquarians have clearly proved this enormous breach may be traced to the times of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

Michelagnolo inspected also the construction of St. Peter's, corrected the extravagance of Bramante, and without any disparagement to the numerous artists afterwards employed upon it, we owe to the great Florentine this Wonder of the World. The design of the dome, or aerial pantheon, which astonishes alike the connoisseur and every other person, was drawn by him with such accuracy that Giacopo della Porta built it many years after Michelagnolo's death, without having occasion to vary

Dome of St. Peter's.

vary it in any one instance.—Some fears have lately been entertained for its safety, and it is devoutly to be wished they may be only imaginary ones. It is indeed the first work of the kind in the universe, for the domes at Constantinople, Venice, Milan, Florence, and even that of St. Paul's, are not to be compared with it. Notwithstanding the fact may startle the imagination, it has the same diameter as the Pantheon, or the Church of the Rotondo, and in short it is the "NE PLUS ULTRA" of architecture.—The illustrious Fontana remarks, "that it is in "vain to celebrate the most famous, ancient or modern, "edifices either in Rome or in any other part of the "world, every thing disappears before the immense and "majestic dome of St. Peter's."—The Pergamena, or Lantern, is of inferior merit. It is infinitely less beautiful than that of Florence, and an excellent judge has supposed it to have been the work of another hand (*h*).

Florence was, like Rome, also ornamented by Michelagnolo with many buildings, and in particular with the elegant Library and Sacristy of St. Lorenzo.—Was the Venetian bridge of Rialto built from one of his designs? —Without leaning to either side of the question the evidence shall be fairly stated. In the Gallery of his nephew,

(*h*) "Io assolutamente non la credo fatta sul disegno di Michel-Agnolo ———."
Bottari.

phew, Michelagnolo the younger, where his whole life is represented in a set of pictures, there is an inscription under one of them signifying "that he went to Venice, where he was very favourably received by the "Doge Andrea Gritti, and many of the nobility, and offered a salary if he would settle there, and that in return for the civility he presented them with a design "for the bridge of the Rialto (*i*)."—This evidence appears decisive, though Francesco Sansovino, the son of the celebrated Giacopo Sansovino, in his description of Venice, re-published with additions by Signor Stringa, gives the honour of the Rialto to Scamozzi.—If we consult Scamozzi himself he enumerates the different artists who had given plans for it, without mentioning Buonaroti, and concludes with a description of two of his own designs, neither of which he adds was entirely followed.—From the whole it seems the real architect is not to be discovered of this bold and masterly bridge, which has been boasted of at Venice as without a rival in the universe.

In one of his letters the great artist considers "a knowledge of anatomy as essential for the architect, and declares that the members of architecture are similar to "those

(*i*) "Andato a Venezia, ricevuto e visitato dal Doge Andrea Gritti, e da molti gentiluomini; gli è offerto stipendio, se si risolve a abitar quivi; il quale esente da ogni obbligo sa per il medesimo Gritti il disegno del ponte di Rialto."

"those of the human body (*k*)."—It would be presumption to question the respectable opinion of such a genius. The human body may be a perfect model of symmetry, yet an attendance on a course of anatomical lectures seems unconnected with the building of a palace or a cathedral.

Michelagnolo introduced undoubtedly many novelties into the practical part of the science, and sometimes employed not only a different order from the four fundamental ones, but a different one from the antient Roman or the Composite. They who prefer the slumbers or the dreams of great men to the vigilance of inferior persons, consider only the beautiful effects of his innovations as the produce of exquisite taste and sublime genius (*l*).

—Severer

(*k*) "E cosa certa, che le membra dell' Architettura dipendono dalle membra dell' uomo. Chi non è stato, o non è buon maestro di figure, e massime di notomia, non se ne può intendere." *Lett. di Mich. Agn. fra le pittoriche T.* 1. *p.* 9.

(*l*) "Credo questò, che se i Greci ed i Romani formarono que' primi ordini, e gli ridussero a misura, e regola generale, che si possano essere stati di quelli, che l'abbiano fin quì fatto nell' ordine composto, componendo da sè dell cose, che apportino molto più grazia, che non fanno le antiche. E che questo sia vero, ne fanno fede l'opere, che Michel-Agnolo Bonaroti ha fatto nella Sagrestia e Libreria di S. Lorenzo di Firenze, dove le porte, i tabernacoli, le base, le colonne, i capitelli, le cornici, le mensole, ed in somma ogni altra cosa hanno del nuovo, e del composto da lui, e nondimeno sono maravigliose, non che belle. Il medesimo, e maggiormente, dimostro lo stesso Michel-Agnolo, nel secondo ordine del cortile di Casa Farnese, e nella cornice ancora che regge di fuori il tetto di quel Palazzo. E chi vuol veder quanto in questo modo di fare abbia mostrato la virtù di questo uomo veramente venuta dal cielo, arte disegno e varia maniera, consideri quello, che ha fatto nella fabbrica di St. Piero, nel riunire insieme il corpo di quella macchina, e

—Severer judges (*m*) have pretended, that in his departure from the chaster rules of antiquity he prepared the way for the freedoms of Borromei and the modern school.

It has been supposed that Michelagnolo's talents extended likewise to military architecture. During the siege of Florence his patriotism overpowered his friendship and his gratitude to the Medici Family, and he assisted his fellow-citizens as an engineer. His works might perhaps have saved the city, if bastions and ravelins had been proof against treason, and military science could have constructed fortifications into which silver shot and golden bombs were not able to penetrate.—Some of these works are yet remaining, and Marshal Vauban was so charmed with them when he passed through Tuscany as to take a drawing and a plan of them (*n*).—When Florence capitulated Michelagnolo concealed himself, from the apprehensions of Clement the

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nel far tante sorti di vari e stravaganti ornamenti, tante belle mondanature di cornici, tanti diversi tabernacoli, ed altre molte cose tutte trovate da lui, e fatte variatamente dall' uso degli antichi. Perchè niuno può negare, che questo nuovo ordine composto, avendo do Michel-Agnolo tanta perfezione ricevuto, non possa andar al paragone degli altri." *Vasari Proëmio.*

(*m*) Algarotti and many others.

(*n*) "Il Sgr. di Voban, uno de più eccellenti ingegneri, che abbia avuto la Francia, e che ha tanto amplificata e promossa questa arte, quando passò per Firenze, levò la pianta delle fortificazioni di Michel-Agnolo, e ne prese tutte le misure."

Bottari.

the VIIth's resentment, but the Roman Pontiff knew the value of his talents, and soon afterwards sent for him and employed him.

It remains now only to consider Michelagnolo as a painter. No artist probably ever equalled him in design, which is the first requisition of the profession, and the foundation of the art. Without that qualification perfections in many other parts of the science will be of little consequence; with it they may be often spared. There are persons indeed who, from a contempt of his feeble colouring, and the little progress he made in the knowledge of the Clear Obscure, have refused him the name of Painter, but such sentiments are blasphemies against true taste. Michelagnolo's master-piece no longer exists, which he painted in conjunction with Leonardo da Vinci, as a companion to one of his pictures on the subject of the siege of Pisa. Condivi, Vasari, and Cellini, were eye-witnesses of the merit of both these pictures, and Cellini calls them "la Scuola di Mondo (*a*)," and adds,

(*a*) "Un cartone fù la prima opera che Michel-Agnolo mostrò delle sue maravigliose virtù, e lo fece a gara con un altro che faceva Lionardo da Vinci, che avevano a servire per la sala del consiglio del palazzo della Signoria; rappresentavano quando Pisa fù presa da Fiorentini: e il mirabile Lionardo da Vinci aveva preso per elezione di mostrare una bataglia di cavalli con certa presura di bandiere, tanto divinamente fatti, quanto immaginar si possa. Michel-Agnolo Buonaroti nel suo dimostrava una quantità di fanterie, che per esser d'estate, s'erano messi a baguare in Arno; e in questo istante mostra, che si dia all' arme, e quelle fanterie ignude corrono all'arme, e con tanti bei gesti, che mai nè degli antichi nè da moderni si vedde ope-

CHAP. X. adds, "that Michelagnolo never again rose to that pitch "of excellence (*b*)."

To acknowledge that Michelagnolo's cabinet pieces are extremely scarce is saying too little. It is believed that Florence is in possession but of a single one, the Holy Family in the Grand Duke's Gallery, which is in the highest state of preservation. It would be superfluous to make an observation on it, and Richardson has bestowed on it the highest commendations (*c*). According to the last edition of the Picturesque Description of Paris, the late French King had two small pieces of Michelagnolo, a Descent from the Cross, and the Holy Family; but Mons[r]. Mariette thinks the Ganymede, in the collection of the Duke of Orleans, was the only one by this master in France.—England, so rich in the treasures of the Italian school, is in possession likewise but of a single one, except the famous Leda may be considered as another. This last little piece was the property of a Prince of the House of Est, and travelled from Ferrara to Fontainbleau,

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ra, che arrivasse a così bel segno a così alto: e siccome io ho detto, quello del gran Lionardo era bellissimo e mirabile. Stettero questi due cartoni, uno nel palazzo de' Medici, e uno nella sala del Papa; in mentre ch'egli stettero in piè, furono la scuola del mondo. Sebbene il divino Michel-Agnolo fece la gran cappella, dappoi non arrivò a questo segno mai alla metà; la sua virtù non aggiunse mai alla forza di quei primi studi." *Vita di Cellini.*

(*b*) *Nugent's Translation of the Life of Cellini, vol.* 1. 39.

(*c*) *Richardson's Works.*

tainbleau, where it remained till the end of Louis the XIIIth's reign.—Noyers, the secretary of state, from some religious scruples, disfigured it with all the barbarous rage of a bigot, and Monsr. Argenville even supposes it to have been burnt.—In the year 1740 it re-appeared in a miserable state, though the pencil of the great artist was still visible, and he seemed even to have made choice of the subject in order to rival Titian. After some attempts to repair its beauties it was carried into England where it now remains.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the connoisseur had an opportunity of judging of the full merits of the Florentine artist in the Vatican, as the Pauline and Sixtine Chapel contained the most beautiful morsels from his pencil. In the first the Conversion of St. Paul and a Crucifixion were painted in Fresco.—The recollection of them is only left (*d*).—His Last Judgment fills the whole ceiling of the latter, but the smoke from the yellow wax tapers during the Holy Week, and the smoke from the billets of scrutiny, burnt morning and evening during the Conclave, have so much blackened the colours, which were never very brilliant, that this composition, worthy of immortality, has been for many years

His Last Judgment.

(*d*) "Questi due sterminati quadri, che erano due miracoli dell' arte, sono poco meno che perduti affatto." *Bottari.*

years scarcely visible (*e*). In its present state at least this celebrated picture, instead of affording any gratification to the eye, is disagreeable and disgusting. It could never indeed have pleased more than a few persons.—The great artist had sacrificed every thing to his favourite part of the science, and from a desire of displaying in triumph the most beautiful and correct drawing, with a picturesque species of anatomy, had given to the naked flesh of his figures the most exact proportions, a rich pomp of contour, and all the hyperboles of genius.—Vasari (*f*) and his other cotemporaries, from a profound admiration of Michelagnolo's knowledge, have exalted it to the skies. Salvator Rosa (*g*) and De Piles, followed by a crowd of modern writers, have censured it with an acrimony almost inconceivable.—This picture, in a melancholy

(*e*) "Tutta questa gran volta, e le altre pitture ad essa adiacenti, sono annegrite di mala maniera pel fumo delle torce della Capella Pontificia, particolarmente della settimana santa, in cui si adoperano torce di ciera galla, aggiuntovi il fumo cagionato dall' abbrucciamento delle schedole nel tempo del Conclave, il quale abbrucciamento si fa mattina e sera; benchè a questo hanno poi, ancorchè tardi, trovato riparo. Oltrechè la volta è tanto alta, che al presente del piano della capella, poco o niun construtto ne può ricavare chi la volesse studiare; quindi è, che niuno mai vi ho veduto a disegnarla." *Bottari.*

(*f*) "Questo nel' arte nostra è quello esempio, e quella gran pittura mandata da Dio a gli uomini in terra, acciochè veggano, come il fato fa, quando gli intelletti dal supremo grado in terra discendono, e hanno in essi infusa la grazia e la divinità del sapere. Questa opera mena prigioni legati quelli, che di sapere l'arte si persuadono." *Vasari*, 748.

(*g*) "O Michel-Angiol, non vi parlo in guoco;
Questo, che dipingeste, è un gran Giudizio,
Ma del Giudizio voi ne avete poco."
Satire di Salv. Rosa.

lancholy style of colouring, without any appearance of a knowledge of the Clear Obscure, without variety of expression, fantastically composed, and licentious in its perspective, is notwithstanding in one point of view one of the first pictures in the world (*h*). There are still other

(*h*) Vasari has given a copious description of it :—

" In quella di continuo lavorando, in pochi mesi a ultima fine la ridusse, dando tanta forza alle pitture di tal opera, che ha verificato il detto di Dante : 'Morti li morti, e i vivi parean vivi ;' e quivi si conosce la miseria de i dannati, e l' allegrezza de' beati. Onde scoperto questo Giudizio, mostrò non solo essere vincitore de' primi artefici, che lavorate vi avevano ; ma ancora nella volta, che egli tanto celebrata aveva fatta, volle vincere se stesso, e in quella di gran lunga passatosi, superò se medesimo ; avendosi egli immaginato il terrore di que' giorni, dove egli fa rappresentare per più pena di chi non è ben vissuto, tutta la passione di G. C. facendo portare in aria da diverse figure ignude la croce, la colonna, la lancia, la spugna, i chiodi, e la corona con diverse, e varie attitudini molto difficilmente condotte a fine nella facilità loro. Evvi Cristo, il quale sedendo con faccia orribile e fiera a i dannati si volge, maladicendogli non senza gran timore della nostra Donna, che ristrettasi nel manto ode, e vede tanta rovina. Sonvi infinitissime figure, che gli fanno cerchio di Profeti, di Apostoli, e particolarmente Adamo, e S. Pietro : i quali si stimano, che vi sien messi l' uno per l' origine prima delle genti venute al giudizio, l' altro per essere stato il primo fondamento della cristiana Religione. A' piedi gli è un S. Bartolommeo bellissimo, il qual mostra la pelle scorticata. Evvi similmente uno ignudo di San Lorenzo ; oltra che senza numero sono infinitissimi Santi, e Sante, e altre figure maschi, e femmine intorno, appresso, e discosto ; i quali si abbracciano, e fannosi festa, avendo per grazia di Dio, e per guiderdone delle opere loro la beatitudine eterna. Sono sotto i piedi di Cristo i sette Angeli scritti da San Giovanni Evangelista con le sette trombe, che sonando a sentenza, fanno arricciare i capelli a chi gli guarda, per la terribilità, che essi monstrano nel viso ; e fra gli altri vi son due Angeli, che ciascuno ha il libro delle Vite in mano, e appresso non senza bellissima considerazione si veggono i sette Peccati mortali da una banda combattere in forma di diavoli, e tirar giù allo inferno l' anime, che volano al Cielo con attitudini bellissime, e scorti molto mirabili. Nè ha restato nella resurrezione de' morti mostrare al Mondo, come essi dalla medesima terra piglian la ossa, e la carne ; e come da altri vivi ajutati vanno volando al Cielo ; che da alcune anime già beate è lor porto ajuto ; non senza vedersi tutte quelle parti di considerazioni, che a una tanta opera, come quella, si possa stimare che si convenga ; perchè per lui si è fatto studi, e fatiche d' ogni sorta, apparendo egualmente per tutta

other objections to it, and both the absurdity of the artist's imagination and satirical indecency are equally exceptionable.—Jovial Monks and beautiful naked females are not the most proper objects in such a terrible scene, and the mixture of fabulous history is also very inconsistent.—Cerberus, Minos, and Charon, with their respective attributes, have no relation to the Christian Revelation.—The painter without doubt copied Dante's example, whose imagination was somewhat similar, and imitated him as Phidias and Apelles imitated Homer.—The Christian Hell is neither picturesque nor poetical, and

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l' opera, come chiaramente, e particolarmente ancora nella barca di Caronte si dimostra; il quale con attitudine disperata l' anime tirate dai diavoli giù nella barca batte col remo ad imitazione di quello, che espresse il suo famigliarissimo Dante, quando disse,

> 'Caron demonio con occhi di bragia,
> Loro accennando, tutte le raccoglie:
> Batte col remo qualunque si adagia.'

Nè si puo immaginare, quanto di varietà sia nelle teste di que' diavoli, mostri veramente d' inferno. Nei peccatori si conosce il peccato, e la tema insieme del danno eterno. E oltra a ogni bellezza straordinaria è il vedere tanta opera si unitamente dipinta, e condotta, che ella pare fatta in uno giorno, e con quella fine, che mai minio nessuno si condusse talmente. E nel vero la moltitudine delle figure, la terribilità e grandezza dell' opera è tale, che non si può descrivere, essendo piena di tutti i possibili umani affetti, e avendogli tutti maravigliosamente espressi. Avvengachè i superbi, gli invidiosi, gli avari, i lussuriosi, e gli altri cosi fatti si riconoscono agevolmente da ogni bello spirito per avere osservato ogni decoro si d' aria, si d' attitudini, e si d' ogni altra naturale circostanza nel figurarli; cosa che sebbene è maravigliosa, e grande, non e stata impossibile a questo uomo, per essere stato sempre accorto, e savio, e avere visto uomini assai, e acquistato quella cognizione con la pratica del Mondo, che fanno i filosofi con la speculazione e per gli scritti. Talchè chi giudizioso, e nella pittura intendente si trova, vede la terribilità dell' arte, e in quelle figure scorge i pensieri, e gli affetti, i quali mai per altro, che per lui, non furono dipinti." *Vasari, vol. 2. 747, 748.*

and it might be prudent to renounce the subject, except it can be treated in an allegorical manner, where Truth disguised under a delightful veil collects a number of pleasing images, and establishes Fiction in her rights.

The multitude of Michelagnolo's naked figures is an objection on which his enemies have confidently relied, and in one of the Pontificates a dress was thrown over them by an artist who from the circumstance was facetiously called "Il Braghettone."—Michelagnolo had embarrassed himself in a dilemma from which he could not extricate himself with ease, and entirely without censure. If the numbers of his naked figures in such a scene are indecent, to have clothed them would have been ridiculous. Frederico Zuccero, who painted the Cupola at Florence, split upon this shoal. He had absurdly peopled his with a multitude of figures of both sexes extremely well dressed in the fashion of the times.—We can excuse Michelagnolo; at Zuccero we can only laugh.—Yet it is not the nakedness of a figure that is exceptionable, but the indecency of its mien and attitude. Where the subject is chaste, nakedness is innocence.—On the contrary it is not dress itself that can convey the idea of purity, as may be learned from Monsr. Grosley's description of the St. Theresa of Bernini in an ecstasy. The female Saint is in the religious habit of a Carmelite, but is highly improper for a Church or an Altar-piece.

To

To Michelagnolo has been attributed a species of presentiment or prediction, that the artists especially in Tuscany his native country, who attached themselves to his style without his own great advantages, would never make a figure in their profession—a presentiment which has been but too fully verified (*i*).

Michelagnolo was the author of a Treatise on Muscular Motion, which would have been more regretted, if the loss had not in some measure been repaired by a work of the celebrated Bouchardon on the same subject.

Michelagnolo wrote with an elegant and noble simplicity, though he was more capable of writing well than solicitous of that accomplishment.—In one of his letters he acknowledges that he never took up the pen but when he could not avoid it, because the art of writing was not his own (*k*).—He succeeded, however, as a poet (*l*), and the

(*i*) "Alquanto del duro fogliono avere le pitture di tutti coloro, che senza essere Michel-Agnolo hanno voluto disegnare, e dipignere a sua imitazione; con che pur troppo avvèrarono nel passato secolo quel suo tanto celebre vaticinio, cioè, che quella sua maniera averebbe in tempo prodotti molti goffi artefici." *Baldinucci, vita del Cigoli.*

(*k*) "Il scrivere mi da grandissima noja, perchè non è la mia arte." *Lettere concernenti le tre belle arti T.* 1.

(*l*) Berni, speaking "delle rime di Michel-Agnolo," has the following lines.

"Ho visto qualche sua composizione;
Son ignorante, e pur direi d'avelle,
Lette tutte nel mezzo di Platone;
Sicch'egli è nuovo Apollo, è nuove Apelle."

the Senator Buonaroti has obliged the public with a collection of his poetry (*a*).—The sonnets and Canzone are not overcharged with unnecessary ornaments, they resemble the austere simplicity of his own genius, yet perhaps their greatest merit consists in having fallen from his hand.

Michelagnolo died at ninety in Rome, and Florence his native city was at the expence of a magnificent funeral service, for the Phidias, the Sostratus, and Zeuxes united in her illustrious citizen.

Vasari and Condivi are the principal sources, from whence this account of Michelagnolo has been drawn.—

Mons$^{r.}$

(*a*) The Reader will not be displeased with a beautiful Sonnet from the collection.

"Giunto è gia'l corso della vita mia,
Per tempestoso mar con fragil barca,
Al comun porto, ov'a render si varca,
Giusta ragion d'ogni opra trista e pia:

Onde l'affettuosa fantasia,
Che l'Arte si fece idolo e monarca,
Conosco ben quant' era d'error carca;
Ch'errore é ciò, che l'uom quaggiù desia.

O pensier miei già de mie' danni lieti,
Che fia or s'a due morti m'avvicino,
L'una ch'è certa, e l'altra che minaccia?

Nè pinger, nè scolpir fia più che queti,
L'anima volta a quell' amor divino,
Ch'aperse a prender noi in croce e braccia."

Mons.r Gori, who re-published Condivi, is lavish in his praises, and Condivi, who was the scholar of Michelagnolo and wrote his master's life under his own eyes, deserves every mark of confidence from his chaste simplicity.—They who prefer elegance and ornament will read Vasari.—In accuracy the two writers may be equal.—Vasari was likewise a scholar of Michelagnolo, and their epistolary correspondence proves their intimacy. Michelagnolo's life also by Vasari has the advantage of being complete, whilst Condivi's ends ten years before the great Florentine's death.—In point of Virtù the two authors are not to be compared. Condivi was an artist without a name, and all the world has acknowledged Vasari's excellence, who was one of the most ingenious painters and the first of modern architects.

Michelagnolo, it is said, was perpetually inculcating the necessity of the young artist never losing sight of his compass, and this maxim ill understood or ill interpreted has been very prejudicial to the arts!—The spirit of it is however very plain.—The young student ought to handle the compass with such assiduity as to be able to work afterwards without feeling the want of its assistance.

Let us still preserve a veneration for this great man!—It has been the fashion lately to depreciate his talents, and to dwell on his imperfections or his foibles; but is it not to be feared that a blindness to his sublime genius is a symptom

symptom of declining taste, and an ominous presage of the fall of the arts connected with his glory?

Il Rosso. Il Rosso, the Florentine, was an ingenious artist, and a genius without a master, unless he endeavoured to copy the bold and terrible style of Michelagnolo. We are assured, however, that his manner was not so correct and had a little harshness, though he possessed, notwithstanding, a very considerable degree of taste.—His talents recommended him to Francis the Ist, and he was for some time employed by that Monarch. Almost all the writers in the profession agree that his works at Fontainbleau have lost a great part of their beauty by age, but the censure is not just. Those in Fresco were effaced soon after his death by Primaticcio and the graceful Nicolino, the two great constellations of Bologna.—Florence is in possession of one of his pictures in perfect preservation, and it is alone sufficient to prove his merit (*b*).

Pontormo. Pontormo, the Florentine, was not one of those great men, whose simple name is an evidence of their talents. Yet he had some reputation amongst cotemporary citizens, and his native city contains a multitude of his works.

(*b*) "Delle maravigliose opere del Rosso è stupendissima e eccellentissima la tavola della Cappella dei Dei, famiglia ora spenta; la quale tavola si conservà per anco fresca, ed intatta, come se fosse stata fatta l'anno passato, ed è d'una belezza, che non si può immaginare, se non da chi l'ha vista." *Bottari.*

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CHAP. X.

Antonio Gallo

works.—Virtù seems to have been hereditary in the Florentine family of Gallo. Giuliano, Antonio, and Aristotile, were able architects, but Antonio the younger intendant of the building of St. Peter's surpassed them all. Clement the VIIth employed his talents in the construction of the famous fountains at Orvieto, worthy of the magnificence of a sovereign.—The French have a proverb, that "the absent are always in the wrong," and it may be extended to the dead.—The arms of the Roman Pontiff of the House of Medici had been worked and intended to be placed over these fountains.—Clement the VIIth died, Paul succeeded him, and the Tourteaux of the House of Medici have been metamorphosed into the Farnese arms of the "Fleurs de Lys," which are still remaining.

Granaccio. Montelupo.

Granaccio and Montelupo were also Florentine sculptors.

Piero Torrigiani.

Piero Torrigiani, another Florentine sculptor, was employed in England on many occasions by Henry the VIIIth, but his reputation suffered from his miserable envy of Michelagnolo's genius. In a moment of jealous rage, "di questa rabbia della gelosia," by a severe blow upon the face he did the Great Artist a lasting injury, and instead of acknowledging the infamy of his behaviour he boasted of it during the remainder of his life.—Cellini has given the detail.—

"About (*c*) this time there came a sculptor to Florence, named Piero Torrigiani, "who was just arrived from England, where he had resided several years; "and as he was an intimate friend of my master's, he "every day came to see him. This artist having "seen my drawings, and my workmanship said to "me thus:—I am come to Florence to invite as many young persons as I can to England, and, having "a great work in hand, I should be glad of the assistance "of my fellow-citizens of Florence: I perceive that your "manner of working, and your designs, are rather those "of a sculptor than a goldsmith; now I have considerable "undertakings in bronze, so that if you will go with me "to England, I will at once make your fortune.—This "Torrigiani was a handsome man, but of consummate "assurance, having rather the air of a bravo than of a "sculptor; above all, his strange gestures, and his sonorous voice, with a manner of knitting his brows, enough "to frighten every man that saw him, gave him a most "tremen-

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(*c*) "In questo tempo venne uno scultore a Firenze, che si domandava Piero Torrigiani, in quale veniva d'Inghilterra. ——— Era questo uomo di bellissima forma, audacissimo, aveva più aria di gran soldato che di scultore, massime li suoi mirabili gesti, e la sua sonora voce, con uno aggrotar di ciglia, da spaventare ogni uomo da qual cosa, ed ogni giorno ragionava delle sue bravure con quelle bestie di quelli Inglesi. In questo proposito cadde in sul ragionare di Michel-Agnolo Buonarotti, chè sù causa di ciò un disegno, che io aveva fatto, ritratto da un cartone del divinissimo Michel-Agnolo. ——— Ora torniamo a Piero Torrigiani, che con quel mio disegno in mano disse così: questo Buonarotti ed io andavamo ad un parare da fanciulletti nella Chiesa del Carmine dalla Cappella di Masaccio, e poi il Buonarotti aveva per usanza di uccellare tutti quelli che disegnavano. Un giorno infra gli altri, dan-

"tremendous appearance; and he was continually talk-"ing of his great feats amongst those bears of Englishmen. "His conversation one day happened to turn upon Mi-"chael Angelo Buonarotti; and a drawing of mine taken "from one of the cartoons of that divine artist, was what "gave rise to this discourse.

"This cartoon was the first in which Michael Angelo "displayed his extraordinary abilities, as he made this "and another which were to adorn the hall where the se-"nators assembled, in emulation of Leonardo da Vinci; "they represented the taking of Pisa by the Florentines. "The admirable Leonardo had chosen for his subject a "battle fought by cavalry, with the taking of certain "standards, in which he acquitted himself with a force "of genius that cannot be surpassed by conception. Mi-"chael Angelo Buonarotti in his cartoon exhibited a con-"siderable body of foot, who were bathing in summer "time in the river Arno; at this very instant he repre-"sents an alarm of battle, and all the naked soldiers run-"ning to arms, with gestures so admirably expressive, "that no ancient or modern performance was ever "known to attain to so high a degree of perfection: and "as I have already observed, that of the great Leonardo "was also a work of extraordinary beauty. These two "car-

domi noja il detto, mi venne assai più stizza del solito; e stretto la mano, gli dette si gran pugno nel naso, che io mi senti fiaccare sotto il pugno quell' osso, e tenerume del naso, come se fosse stato un cialdone, e così segnato da me ne resterà infinchè

" cartoons stood, one of them in the palace of Medici, " the other in the pope's hall: so long as they remained " there, they were the school of the world; and though " the divine Michael Angelo painted the great chapel of " pope Julius, he never again rose to that pitch of excel- " lence; his genius could not reach the force of those " first essays. Let us now return to Piero Torrigiani; " who holding the abovementioned drawing of mine in " his hand, spoke thus:—This Buonarotti and I went " when we were children, to learn to draw in the church " of the Carmelites, at the chapel of Masaccio; and it " was afterwards customary with Buonarotti to rally all " those who were learning to draw there. One day, " amongst others, a sarcasm of his having stung me to " the quick, I was provoked to an uncommon degree, " and, having doubled my fist, I gave him so violent a " blow upon the nose, that I felt the bone and cartilage " yield under my hand as if they had been made of paste, " and the mark I then gave him, he will carry to his " grave. This rodomontade raised in me such an aver- " sion to the fellow, because I had seen the works of the " divine Michael Angelo, that, far from having any in- " clination to go with him to England, the very sight of " him gave me offence (*d*)."

Emula-

vive." Queste parole generarono in me tanto odio, perchè vedevo i fatti del divino Michel-Agnolo, che non tanto che a me venisse voglia di andarmene seco in Inghilterra, ma non potevo patire di vederlo." *Vita di Cellini.*

(*d*) *Nugent's Translation of the Life of Cellini, vol.* 1. 36—39.

CHAP. X.

Emulation and jealousy nearly touch each other.—Their approximating shades frequently blend themselves, but their extremities are very different.

"Usque adeo quod tangit idem est, tamen ultima distant."

Unfortunately it often happens that emulation not only descends into jealousy, but degenerates into envy, the worst of passions of the worst of beings!

Clement the VIIth's Medals.

The Medals of Clement the VIIth's pontificate have been greatly celebrated, and from the state of humiliation to which he was reduced, according to Cellini, two were suggested by the Pope himself. One represents our Saviour naked as far as the waist, with the hands bound behind the back and the words "Ecce Homo." On the reverse the Pope and Emperor were endeavouring to rear a falling Cross, and the motto was "Unus Spiritus "et una Fides erat in eis."—The Pope's bust filled one side of the other medal, and on the reverse our Saviour appeared walking on the sea, and stretching out his hand to St. Peter with the words "Cur dubitasti (e)?"

Lorenzo the son of Piero de' Medici.

Lorenzo the son of Piero de' Medici, who had been forced to quit Florence during the expedition of Charles the VIIIth, passed his infancy in exile, and only return-

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(e) In Cellini the inscription is "Quare dubitasti." *Nugent's Translation of the Life of Cellini, vol. 1. 189.*

ed to his native country in 1512, under the auspices of his uncles Giovanni and Giuliano de' Medici. The former having been raised to the Pontificate, and the latter having voluntarily ceded to his nephew his rights to the government of Florence, it was given to Lorenzo. Leo the Xth also in his favour deprived Francesco Maria della Rovera of the Dutchy of Urbino.—Rovera entered into hostilities for the recovery of his patrimony, and Lorenzo in the contest neither exhibited any specimen of abilities or bravery.—It has been supposed that he was wounded at the siege of Mondolfo, but what proof is there of such an accident (*a*)?—He refused the challenge of his rival to decide their title and their fortune in single combat; with great cruelty he put the bearer of Rovera's message

(*a*) The evidence, if it was of any consequence, rests on a letter from Clement the VIIth to Lorenzo on the accident.

" *A l'occasion de cette blessure, Léon X lui écrivit la lettre suivante ;*

Laurentio Medici fratris filio. Nihil nobis gratius et jocundius afferri potuit tuis litteris; quibus scribis de medicorum omnium sententiâ vulnus tibi omnino non penetrare, brevique coaliturum, et te valentem futurum. Quod quidem etsi ita fore spem in Diis immortalibus haberemus, tuique omnes idem nobis significarent; magnâ tamen lætitiâ nos affecit is medicorum consensus, tuæque litteræ, manu præsertim tuâ scriptæ, neque vacillantibus litterulis; quæ nos eâ de re certiores fecerunt. Itaque maximas quidem gratias Deo Opt. Max. ago, agamque dum vivam, qui te tam præsenti periculo eripuit; precorque, quod reliquum est, ut is mihi te et matri et tuis omnibus salvum atque sospitem sistat. Interim bono animo es, quo te tamen esse jam video, nihilque cogites, præter prosperam et celerem sanationem. Nos porro tibi usque hinc, quod nostri muneris est, manu quidem nostrâ in crucis effigiem ductâ, vulnus, qua possumus, obsignamus, benèque ominamur. Itaque fili optime atque exoptatissime vale. Dat. Non. April. Anno Quinto. Româ."

message to the torture, to discover his master's connections with France, and after a struggle of eight months he triumphed with great ignominy.—According to Paulus Iovius the Papal troops regularly fled at the sight of the enemy, and if Leo had not artfully corrupted some of the Spanish officers and Ugo de Moncade had not published a formal manifesto in the Emperor's name, it was generally believed both the Pope and his nephew would have failed in their enterprise, which had been as ill conducted as it was unjust.(*b*).

Marries Maddalena de Tours.

As soon as Lorenzo de' Medici was invested with the Dutchy of Urbino, he married, through the interest of Francis the Ist, Maddalena de Tours, Countess of Boulogne, of the Royal blood of France and descended in a direct line

> "———————— del Capitano,
> Ch'el gran Sepolcro liberò di Cristo,"

from the famous Godfrey de Bouillon, the conqueror of Jerusalem and the sage general of an army of fools and fanatics.

The

(*b*) "Pontificii nusquam ferè Feltrianos sustinuerunt, ac, nisi Leo magnis propositis præmiis venales quosdam Hispanorum Præfectos corrupisset, et Ugo Moncata, Cæsaris nomine, universos ut Feltrium desererent, indixisset, grave profectò Leo vulnus accipiens, pudendi et parum æqui belli pœnas subiisset."

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The Marshal de Fleuranges, who has transmitted to us his Memoirs under the title of "A Young Adventurer," gives the history of this marriage in 1518.

"La Cour estant à Amboise, la Royne accoucha d'un "beau-fils. Incontinent dépecha le Roy devers le Pape, "le prier d'estre son compere. Envoya le dict Pape en "son lieu tenir le dict Dauphin, le Duc d'Urbin son nep- "veu, et avoit le dict Duc d'Urbin bien fort la grosse "V....., et de fresche mémoire, et falloit qu'il vint en "poste, ce qu'il faysoit à grand, peine, et vint à Am- "boise, où lui fit le Roy merveilleusement bon recueil. "Le baptême fut fait au plus grand triomphe possible, "et trois jeurs après feurent faict les nopces du dict "Duc d'Urbin à la plus jeune fille de Boulogne, qui "estoit très belle Dame et jeune, car Mr. d'Albanie "avoit épousé l'aisnée; et quand la dicte Dame épousa "le dict Duc d'Urbin, elle ne l'epousa pas seul, car elle "épousa la grosse V..... quant et quant; et à ce pro- "pre jour le Roy le fit Chevalier de son Ordre. —— "Quand le souper fut fait, mena-t'on coucher la mariée "trop plus belle que le marié, et le lendemain se firent "les joustes les plus belles que furent oncques faictes en "France, ne en la Chrétienté, là où à tous ces combats "estoit le dict Duc d'Urbin, nouveau marié, qui faisoit "le mieux qu'il pouvoit pour plaire à sa mie."

Leo the Xth expressed his gratitude in a very substan-

tial

tial manner for the favour Francis the Ist had conferred on the Medici Family, though not at his own expence. Lorenzo carried with him into France a Bull from his uncle, giving Francis the Ist permission to employ in whatever mode he chose, the sums levied in the Ecclesiastical benefices for the support of the war against the infidels.

Death of Lorenzo de' Medici and his consort.

Lorenzo de' Medici and his youthful bride survived their union but a year!—Lorenzo died in consequence of his former course of sensual pleasures—from that destructive punishment of vice and libertinism which had lately made its appearance, and was not then perfectly understood in Italy (*c*).—His death at once dissolved the connection of France with Leo the Xth.—If the antient

(*c*) Mr. Roscoe observes, " This disorder, which was first known in Italy about the year 1495, was not in its commencement supposed to be the result of sexual intercourse, but was attributed to the impure state of the air, to the simple touch or breath of a disordered person, or even to the use of an infected knife. Hence for a considerable time no discredit attached to the patient; and the authors of that period attribute without hesitation the death of many eminent persons, as well ecclesiastical as secular, to this complaint. In the Laurentian library (*Plut.* lxxiii. *cod.* 38.) is a MS. intitled *Saphati Physici de morbo Gallico liber*, dedicated by the author Giuliano Tanio of Prato, to Leo the Xth, in which he thus adverts to a learned Professor, who was probably one of the first victims of this disease; 'Nos anno MCCCCXCV, extrema æstate, egregium utriusque juris doctorem Dominum Philippum Decium, Papiensem, in Florentino Gymnasio Prati, Pisis tunc rebellibus, publice legentem, hac labe affectum ipsi conspeximus.' From the same author we learn that the disorder was supposed to have originated in a long continuance of hot and moist weather, which occurred in the same year: 'Ex magna pluvia similis labes apparuit, ex quibus arguunt hunc nostræ ætatis morbum ex simili caussa ortum esse, ex calida scilicet, humidaque intemperie, quia ex pluvia scilicet anni MCCCCLXXXXV.

antient Hecuba, as the poets tell us, had such frightful dreams before the birth of Paris, what ghastly phantoms may not have been supposed to have disturbed the sleep of Maddalena de Tours!—Catherine de'

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nonis Decembris emissa, qua Roma facta est navigabilis, ac tota fere Italia inundationes passa est,' &c. These authorities are greatly strengthened by that of the illustrious Francastoro, who was not only the best Latin poet, but the most eminent physician of his age, and who in his *Syphilis* accounts for the disorder from similar causes. After adverting to the opinion that it had been brought into Europe from the Western world, then lately discovered, he adds,

'At vero, si rite fidem observata merentur
Non ita consendum: nec certe credere par est
Esse peregrinam nobis, transque æquora vectam
Contagiem: quoniam in primis ostendere multos
Possumus, attactu qui nullius, hanc tamen ipsam
Sponte sua sensere luem, primique tulere.
Præterea, et tantum terrarum tempore parvo,
Contagies non una simul potuisset obire.' "

"Yet," as Monsr. Tenhove remarks, "Fracastoro hinted at the specific remedy for the complaint:

'———— tibi parta salus tellure sub ima est;
Tolle animos ————————————
Hic tibi tantorum requies inventa laborum.
————————————————
————————————————
Hæc tibi bisquinis satis est iterasse diebus;
Durum erit: at quicquid tulerit res ipsa ferendum est.
Aude animis. Tibi certa salus stans limine in ipso
Signa dabit. Liquefacta mali excrementa videbis,
Assiduè sputo immundo fluitare per ora,
Et largum ante pedes tabi mirabere flumen.
————————————————
————————————————
Sed jam age vicinæ victor gratare saluti.
Ultima adest tibi cura, eadem et placidissima: corpus
Abluere, et lustrare artus ac membra piare
Stæchade, Amaricinisque comis, et Rore marino
Verbanâque sacrâ, et benè olentibus Heracleis.' "

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Birth of Catherine de' Medici.

de' Medici was the only fruit of this fatal marriage, and her mother lost her life in bringing Catherine into the world.

Exclusive of the Dutchy of Urbino, Leo the Xth had given the Pontine Marshes to his nephew Lorenzo de' Medici, who drained the lower part of them, which is at present very productive, and contains in circumference about five leagues. The House of Medici possessed nearly seventy years the whole of these Marshes, which cover so many antient cities, but the family extended its improvements no farther than has been mentioned. Sixtus left them the part they had improved, and re-took possession of the rest. If he had lived, in all probability, from the firmness and resolution of his character, he would have succeeded in the undertaking in which so many of the Popes have failed.

The tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici, the Duke of Urbino, is in the new Sacristy of St. Lorenzo at Florence, called also the Chapel of the Princes, which was of Michelagnolo's architecture. Amongst the seven statues by Michelagnolo in the same Chapel, which are all masterly performances, there is one of Lorenzo.

Clarice, the sister of Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, attended her father in his flight.—Piero de' Medici being drowned in the Garigliano in 1503, Alfonsina

d'Urbino

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d'Urbino his widow, retired with her children to Rome, under the protection of her brother-in-law the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici. Her whole thoughts and attention were now turned towards marrying her daughter Clarice suitably, and she cast her eyes on Filippo Strozzi, a young person of great hopes, and of one of the first Florentine families.—Filippo Strozzi, whilst he was highly flattered by such a brilliant offer, was not blind to the inconveniences that might attend it. Clarice's father had been declared a rebel, and died in exile, but the laws did not include the females in the sentence or proscription. After having paused for some time on the proposals, and reflected maturely on the advantage or prejudice that might arise from them, he at last accepted of Clarice's hand, and went to Rome to celebrate their nuptials. But this marriage displeased his friends who were staunch Republicans.—Strozzi was summoned to give an account of his conduct and intentions, and banished for three years.—His youthful consort could not be legally included in the sentence; she went to Florence, and the whole city was as eager to see the grand-daughter of the great Lorenzo as a new spectacle. The Gonfalonier Soderini, apprehensive of more serious consequences, prevailed on Clarice to request her husband Strozzi's pardon, and by these means he returned before his exile would otherwise have expired.—His alliance however with the House of Medici had not extinguished in his generous bosom his ardent love of liberty, and he had not any share in the

Clarice de' Medici marries Filippo Strozzi.

conspiracy

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conspiracy which re-instated the family in Florence.—Though he was the favourite of his brother-in-law Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, his death gave him little if any concern.—From his attachment to literature he was disgusted with continual servitude, and wearied with the trade of a courtier he sighed for the freedom of repose.—Exclusive of these sentiments Lorenzo's government was so defective or oppressive, that Strozzi, who saw no method of separating his own fortune from Lorenzo's, was fearful of being sooner or later involved in his ruin.

Clement the VIIth, it will be recollected, when he was surprised by the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, had been under the necessity of promising a great ransom for his personal safety. To secure its payment he had been obliged to deliver hostages, and Filippo Strozzi was one of them, whom Clement the VIIth suffered to languish for a long time in captivity.—Strozzi did not forget the injury, and from his resentment joined to his Republican ideas he conceived the project of a change in the government of his country. The times were favourable, the name of the Roman Pontiff was holden in abomination at Florence, and the fears of the army under the command of the Constable Bourbon, which then threatened Tuscany, invited the citizens to break their yoke, and separate themselves from the House of Medici.—Clement's authority tottered, and Strozzi received repeated

as

as well as pressing solicitations from both parties to return and lend them his influence and assistance.

Whether he dissembled at first, or was irresolute and could not at once determine on the line of conduct he ought to espouse, he sent Clarice before him to collect intelligence, and explore the path he had to tread.—Clarice was blessed with great suavity of temper, had great prudence, a grandeur of soul, and had a more passionate attachment to the cause of liberty than was usually to be found in the House of Medici.—She was so much superior to Lorenzo that Leo the Xth often observed, "how "happy it would have been for the family if Lorenzo "had been Clarice, and Clarice had been Lorenzo!"—When she had sounded the friends of freedom she went to pay a visit to the Cardinal of Cortona, the guardian of Ippolito and Alessandro de' Medici. By her eloquence or her artifices she persuaded the Cardinal, that if he persisted in his wishes of staying in Florence with his two wards, both their lives and his own would be in danger. Filippo Strozzi soon afterwards arriving, and pretending to interest himself warmly for the Medici, accomplished what Clarice had so ably begun. The Cardinal fled, and the Government was re-established on its antient footing.

Character of Clarice.

Her exertions at Florence.

The Cardinal de Cortona however before he quitted Florence, had demanded for his security to be escorted by one or two of the principal citizens, and Strozzi un-

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dertook the office, though he had afterwards reason to repent he had engaged in it. The Medici had stipulated in the Cardinal de Cortona's treaty with the Florentines to deliver up Pisa and Leghorn, but the surrender of the two cities met with some obstacles. Filippo Strozzi was in consequence of this unexpected delay suspected of collusion, lost in a single moment all his former popularity, and became a fresh example of the inconstancy of the Florentines, and another victim—

> "Di quel ingrato popolo maligno
> Che discese di Fiesole ab antico
> E che tiene ancor del monte e' del macigno (*a*)."

To this severe mortification was added the loss of his illustrious consort, who, like most of the Medici Family, dropped in the flower of her age.—Strozzi retired to Lyons under the pretence of engaging in its commerce, and there waited patiently the event of the siege of his native city.—When fortune had decided the contest in favour of the Medici, he excused himself as well as he was able to Clement the VIIth, but the whole family together with Strozzi incurred the resentment of the young Duke Alessandro, and Clement, to secure Filippo from his nephew's violence, appointed him Nuncio in France.

It

(*a*) Dante.

It is the first and perhaps the single instance of the office being filled by any other person than an Ecclesiastic, for the project that Ciaconius (*b*) attributes to Marcellus the IId of excluding Ecclesiastics from political services was never carried into execution, and evaporated with his reign of fifteen days.

Filippo Strozzi puts himself at the head of the Florentine exiles.

After the death of Clement the VIIth Filippo Strozzi returned to Rome, where he found the Cardinal Ippolito jealous of his cousin's greatness and good fortune.—Strozzi and Ippolito talked over their injuries and grievances, and joined in their resentments. The former put himself at the head of the Florentine exiles, who then swarmed in Rome, and acted as a mediator between them and Ippolito. Nothing was more difficult than to conciliate them or unite their clashing and discordant interests, but they equally desired Alessandro's ruin, and it was the only point on which they cordially agreed.—Ippolito wished to reign—the exiles to be free.

The success of these different views depended almost wholly on the Emperor's inclinations. He had not yet given his daughter Margaret in marriage to Alessandro de' Medici, though he still purposed it, and wished to strengthen

(*b*) "Quare viris profanis, ac sacris haud initiatis ordinibus, hujusmodi officia, omnemque politicam jurisdictionem committere cogitaret."

strengthen his Government by the union or extinction of all parties.

The Cardinal Ippolito and the exiles sent deputies to the Emperor at Barcelona, but he received them with great coldness, though he promised to examine their pretensions on his arrival in Italy. Ippolito set out to have an interview with him, and on the road was attacked by a violent disorder and died very suddenly. The circumstances of his death were certainly suspicious.—Strozzi and his associates apparently made bitter lamentations, and were loud in their demands of vengeance, yet they consoled themselves in reality with the reflection that another Medici was removed out of their way. Soon afterwards they went to meet the Emperor at Naples.—The French ambassador at Rome had endeavoured to prevail on Filippo Strozzi to give up the journey, and in answer to his solicitations Strozzi told him "he was determined to demand the freedom of his country from "God, the World, and the Devil, and that he should "have a lasting obligation to any of the three that gratified him."

The usurpations and profligacy of Alessandro de' Medici, who attended in person to plead his own cause, were unequivocally stated to the Emperor. It was however soon perceptible that as he had lost all hopes of accommodating the differences, he would not hesitate to sacrifice

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crifice the rights of the citizens of Florence, and that the Government was to be Margaret's dowry.—The Florentines refused to submit, Strozzi retired to Venice, and the Duke Alessandro de' Medici declared him a rebel and confiscated his property.

Declared a rebel, and his property confiscated.

When Alessandro's assassin came to Venice, and brought Filippo Strozzi intelligence of what had passed, he was received as an Angel from Heaven. It was considered as one of the most fortunate events that could have happened, yet it was not followed by the consequences which Strozzi and his friends expected. The Florentine Cardinals (*c*), including Strozzi and the rest of the exiles, assembled troops, were supported by the French Court, and took some measures to restore their liberties, but their plans were ill concerted and worse executed.—Strozzi, surprised at Montemurlo, fell into the conqueror's power, and was conveyed a prisoner to the citadel of Florence, where he floated for some time between hope and fear.—The young Cosmo, who had succeeded the Duke Alessandro de' Medici, consulted the Emperor on the treatment of his prisoner, and that Monarch, who from his austerity generally desired the death of every offender, advised the most rigorous sentence.—Strozzi was twice put to the torture which he bore with fortitude, but his great soul was indignant of life.—He perceived

Surprised at Montemurlo, and taken prisoner.

(*c*) "Salviati et Ridolfi."

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Puts himself to death, and leaves a paper with his reasons for dying by his own hands.

perceived a poignard within his reach, and plunged into his heart the instrument of freedom.—The tragical end of this illustrious citizen alarmed Italy and softened it into tears.—In his bosom a paper was found with the following contents:

"TO GOD THE DELIVERER (*d*).

"TO prevent being any longer exposed to the rage of "my inveterate enemies, and forced by the violence of "unjust torments to say something prejudicial to my ho- "nour, my family, and my innocent friends, as has lately "happened to Giuliano Gondi, I Filippo Strozzi have "determined in the manner I am able, however danger- "ous it may be to my soul, to put an end to my life with "my own hands.—I recommend my soul to God, the "Sovereign

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(*d*) "DEO LIBERATORI.

"Per non venire più in potere de maligni inimici miei, ove, oltre all' essere stato ingiustamente e crudelmente straziato, sia costretto di nuovo, per violenza di tormenti, dire alcuna cosa in pregiudizio dell' onore dell' innocenti parenti, et amici miei, la qual cosa è accaduta a questi giorni allo sventurato Giuliano Gondi: Io Filippo Strozzi mi sono deliberato, in quel modo che io posso, quantunque duro (rispetto all' anima) mi paia, con le mie proprie mani finire la vita mia: L' anima mia a Iddio, somma misericordia, raccomando, humilmente pregandolo, se altro darle di bene non vuole, che le dia almeno quel luogo dove Catone Uticense, e altri simili virtuosi uomini hanno fatto tal fine.

"Prego D. Giovan di Luna castellano, che mandi a torre del mio sangue dopo la mia morte, e ne faccia fare un migliaccio, mandandolo a Cibo cardinale, affinc che si satii in morte di quello, che satiare non si è potuto in vita, perche altro grado non gli manca per arrivare al ponteficato, a che esso si disonestamente aspira: E lo prego che faccia sepellire il mio corpo in Santa Maria Novella, appresso à quello della mia donna, quando che nò, mi starò dove mi metteranno: Prego bene i miei Figliuoli

"Sovereign Author of all Mercy, and I humbly beseech "him, if I am not worthy to be admitted into his glory, "graciously to allot me an existence with Cato of Utica, "and those other virtuous men whose deaths have been "like mine.—I request Don Giovanni di Luna, the com-"mandant of the citadel, to make a sausage with my "blood, and to send it to the Cardinal Cibo, that he may "be satiated after my death with what he always longed "for during my life.—I desire also Giovanni di Luna to "bury my body in S. Maria Novella, near my wife, and "if that cannot be allowed it may be wherever my friends "think proper.—I request my sons to conform to my "will made in this citadel.—And thou, Emperor! I be-"seech thee with all due respect to inform thyself better "of the conduct of the poor Florentines, and to act "otherwise respecting them than thou hast already done, "for the welfare of the state, except it is thy wish to ruin "it entirely!

"*Philippus Strozza, jamjam moriturus.*

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor (e)."

Strozzi

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che osservino il testamento fatto da me in Castello, il quale è in mano di Benedetto Ulivieri, eccetto che la partita del Bandino; E sodisfare ancora al signor D. Giovan di Luna di molti comodi da lui ricevuti, e spese fatte per me, non l' avendo sodisfatto mai di cos' alcuna; e tu Cesare con ogni riverenza ti prego t' informi meglio de' modi della povera città di Firenze, riguardando altrimenti, che tu non hai fatto al ben di quella, se già il fine tuo non è di rovinarla.

Philippus Strozza, jamjam moriturus.

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."

(e) *P. Virgil. Æneid.* iv. 625.

"May some Avenger from my ashes rise!"

CHAP. X.

His character.

Strozzi deceived himself, like Dido, in the hopes and expectations of revenge. He had been distinguished above the rest of his citizens by the splendour of his birth and his immense riches, and his alliance with the House of Medici had above all spread over his life the character of singularity.—He was learned, and wrote with equal elegance in verse and prose.—The elder Pliny was his favourite study, and superstition the least of his foibles.—From his dissipation, however, and attachment to irregular pleasures, his reputation suffered,

"Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim,"

and the youth of Florence followed the scandalous example.

Lorenzo Strozzi.

Lorenzo Strozzi, his brother, a person of great merit (*f*), wrote the History of his Life, and also a Treatise on Patience, with, what is more extraordinary, and more lamentable, a dedication to the Grand Duke.

Filippo Strozzi left by his consort Clarice de' Medici a numerous family, and such of their descendants as have been celebrated for their fortune or their talents will be briefly mentioned.

I. Piero

(*f*) Machiavel dedicated to him his Art of War, and gives a high character of him: "Conosco voi de ricchezze e nobilità non aver molti pari, d'ingegno pochi; e di liberalità niuno.

Piero Strozzi.

I. Piero Strozzi was not less renowned than his father. —Of a noble and elegant figure he made a general impression, he had a great heroic soul, was passionately fond of glory, but at the same time insufferably vain, obstinate, and proud.—The Florentine youth respected him as a Divinity, and as he was the legitimate son of Clarice de' Medici, he conceived himself superior to Alessandro, who had been the issue of a spurious connection which had been only sanctified by love. On every occasion therefore he opposed Alessandro, an open rupture followed between them, and their mutual hatred occasioned his exile. Piero retired into France, where under the protection of his cousin the Dauphiness, he looked forward both to an asylum and to honours. By degrees he insinuated himself into Francis the Ist's favour, and he served him with fidelity and reputation. The memoirs of the times speak with admiration of the troop of three hundred chosen youths in golden corselets, that attended him at his own expence from Tuscany.

On the death of Alessandro he flew back into Italy, where he found his father Filippo undecided on his future conduct, but his counsels or animated expostulations determined his wavering intentions.—At the surprise of Montemurlo Piero Strozzi had scarcely time to save himself, and though he had not afterwards the power, he did not want the inclination to revenge his father's untimely end, for he vowed an eternal hatred and hostility

lity to the Duke Cosmo de' Medici, and the Emperor, who protected him.—Yet he rendered the latter, indirectly and undesignedly, an important service on a very critical occasion.—Francis the Ist in 1547 having made peace with Charles, could not openly support the Protestants in Germany, but he engaged Piero Strozzi to advance them three hundred thousand crowns. Strozzi went into Germany to take the necessary steps with the Protestants, and when the moment arrived for him to advance the money and execute his commission he disappeared, to their astonishment.—The Protestants believed he had been seduced into this breach of the contract by the Cardinal Tournon, in high favour with the King, and inflamed with an unconquerable hatred of the reformed Religion.—It was imagined however that Strozzi's resolution had not been worked upon by the suggestions of any religious scruples of which the Florentines had no conception, and that he was induced to apprehend from Francis the Ist's indisposition, that if he advanced the money he ran the risk of losing it.

In 1551 he was employed in Italy, where he forced the Governor of the Milanese to raise the siege of Parma, by the reinforcements which he brought to its assistance with wonderful skill and expedition. After several other successes he returned into France, and became closely connected with the Duke of Guise, of whom he was afterwards the "right-hand" and principal counsellor and confidant.

When

When this Prince in 1552, to make use of an old French expression, "força l'Aigle à faire la poule devant "le Coq," and obliged the Emperor to raise the siege of Metz, Strozzi distinguished himself in its memorable defence, as may be collected from the ballad of the day.

> "Monsieur de Guise étoit dedans, &c. &c.
> Et Monseigneur le Pierre Estrosse,
> Qui nuit et jour est sur remparts,
> Faisant remparts de grand' adresse,
> Et remparant de toutes parts."

In 1554, the inhabitants of Sienna having shaken off the Spanish yoke, and put themselves under the French protection, Henry the IId, who had at first confided his interests to the Cardinal Ferrara, sent afterwards Piero Strozzi. This choice of Strozzi however was fatal to the French, for though he was fully equal to the employment, the departed shade of his father was always present to his eyes, and excited in his mind a desire rather of vengeance than of conquest. Under this impression he followed the dictates of revenge, and neglected the rules of war. The Cardinal Ferrara's jealousy also relaxed his vigilance and activity, and the Duke of Florence, piqued at the French King's having opposed to him a General personally obnoxious, renounced every offer of reconciliation.—Piero Strozzi in this war displayed prodigies of valour and activity, and made his rival's throne

throne shake under him, though Fortune at last deserted him.—He attempted impossibilities to relieve Sienna, besieged by the Marquis de Marignan. Beaten and wounded at the battle of Marciano he did not still lose his courage; he rallied his broken troops, collected new levies, and succeeded in throwing both a supply of men and ammunition into Sienna, which protracted its surrender. When at last it fell the Marquis de Marignan attacked Porto-Ercolo, which Strozzi defended with his usual intrepidity. This fortress in 1555, being no longer tenable, and reduced to the necessity of surrendering, Strozzi escaped on board a galley to prevent being made a prisoner.

The following year the Caraffi sent for him to Rome with the consent of the French Court to employ him in their extensive projects. Their ambitious schemes, however, evaporated or were counteracted by the vigilance of the Duke of Alba, so famous afterwards for his conduct and his cruelty in the Low Countries. When Strozzi returned to the French Court his ill success in Tuscany had no influence whatever on his reception, and Henry the IId, instead of applying to him, "Varus, Varus, "give me back my Legions," recompensed his zeal with a Marshal's staff.—Piero Strozzi did not, however, long enjoy this honour, being killed by a musket-shot at the siege of Thionville.—The circumstances of his death, as they are related by the Marshal de Vieilleville, are not very

Death of Piero Strozzi.

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ry edifying (*a*), yet honest Vincent Carloix, whose chronicle is far superior to a number of modern insipid annals, appears to have given them with truth and freedom.

"Monsieur le Maréchal Strozzi voulut faire aprocher "six coulevrines, et les assembler avec les canons, pour "battre en ruine, et foudroyer la ville; mais, faisant ce "commandement de colère, sans prendre garde à soy, "une mousquetade lui traverse le corps, dont il mourut "à demieheure après le coup; estant Mr. de Guyse fort "près de luy, auquel il dit; Ha teste D..... Monsieur! "Le Roy perd aujourdhuy un bon serviteur, et votre "Excellence encores. Et le voulant ce Prince admonester de son salut, et luy remémorant le nom de Jesus, quel Jesus, dit-il, venez vous me ramentevoir icy? "je regnie D...., ma feste est finie. Et redoublant le "Prince son exhortation, luy dit, qu'il pensât en Dieu, "et qu'il seroit aujourdhuy devant sa face. Mort D....., "répondit-il, je seray où sont tous les autres, qui sont "morts depuis six mille ans. Le tout en langage Itali-"en, et à cette dernière parole il expira, qui étoit un "testament assez commun à ceux de sa nation Florentine, "et digne de la vie qu'il avoit toujours demenée, et selon "sa foi, qui n'estoit pas plus chrétienne ni religieuse qu'il "ne falloit, comme il le fist paroitre le soir précédent "qu'il

(*a*) "Bestemmiando fuggì l'alma sdegnosa,
"Che fu sì altéra al mondo e sì orgogliosa."
Ariosto.

" qu'il soupa avec Mr. de Vieilleville, car le souper fini il " demanda de gayeté de cœur, que faisoit Dieu devant " qu'il fist le monde? Demande que reprima Mr. de Vi- " eilleville assez civilement, lui remonstrant qu'elle n'es- " toit point en toute la Ste Ecriture, et quand elle cesse " de nous enseigner, il nous faut cesser de nous enquérir, " car il n'y a rien en icelle, que ce qui nous est nécessaire " au salut. C'est une belle chose, dit-il alors, cette Ste " Ecriture, et fort bien inventée, si elle est vraye. In- " continent à cette scandaleuse et satanesque parole, Mr. " de Vieilleville feinct d'être saizy d'une grande douleur " de colique, et se lève de table, afin de rompre compag- " nie. Et estant l'autre retiré avec sa suicte, il dit à ceux " qui estoyent demeurés, qu'il protestoit de jamais ne " converser, ne faire amitié, ny un seul repas avec un tel " Athéïste, et qu'il croyoit fermement que ce siège devo- " it faire la terminaison de sa vie. Ce que advint sans at- " tendre le cours de vingtquatre heures; car le lende- " main il fut frapé environ midy, et rendit l'esprit; mais " je ne sçay à qui, veu les horribles blasphèmes qu'il vo- " mit en mourant, et ce que l'on peut juger de sa crèance " par les méchantes paroles qu'il prononça le soir précé- " dent, qui le privèrent, à mon advis, en l'article de la " mort, de la connoissance de Dieu; mais son incompré- " hensible bonté et miséricorde infinie par dessus (*b*)."

The

(*b*) *Memoires de Vieilleville, liv.* 7. *c.* 11. 73, 74, 75.

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The philosophical Montaigne, when he passed some years afterwards by Epernay, where Marshal Strozzi was interred, wishing to see his tomb found it "sans aucune "montre ni de pierre, ni d'armoirie, ni d'épitaphe," without arms, epitaph, or any thing to distinguish it; which is not easily reconciled with one of Voiture's letters.—Writing to the Marchioness de Rambouillet, he tells her "that the Marshal's tomb was so magnificent that he al-"most wished to be buried with him."

Piero Strozzi was in his youth destined for the Church, and he attached himself so much to the study of literature, that his passion for it continued to the end of his life. He made indeed great progress in his learned pursuits, and few modern scholars would now even attempt what he accomplished.—In the words of Brantome—"Pour plus grande preuve, que j'aye jamais vue du grand "savoir de mon dit Seigneur le Maréchal, ç'ont été les "Commentaires de César, qu'il avoit tourné de Latin en "Grec, et luymême écrit de sa main. Le langage étoit "très beau et très éloquent, à ce que j'en ay ouy dire à "des hommes très habiles qui l'avoyent vû et lû, comme "Mr. de Ronfard et Mr. Durant, s'estonnans de la curi-"osité de cet homme à s'être amusé de faire cette traduc-"tion, puisque l'original étoit en si bon Latin. Voylà "ce que je leur en ay ouy dire, car pour moy j'entends "autant le Grec que le Haut-Allemand."

The

The Abbé Terrasson, reasoning from this passage, attributes to Piero Strozzi the Greek Translation of Cæsar's Commentaries published at Francfort in 1608; though it belongs more probably to the Monk Planudes, the fabulous biographer of Æsop, or to some of the Greek Refugees, and perhaps Theodore Gaza, who was known to have taken up the subject.

Leone Strozzi.

II. Leone Strozzi the brother of Piero, was a Knight of Malta and one of the ablest naval officers of his time. —Clement the VIIth, on giving him the habit of the Order, resigned to him the dignity of the Prior of Capua, which he held in person.—He made his first essay in arms under the famous Doria, rose gradually to the command of the Maltese Gallies, and signalized himself both in the Mediterranean and in other seas.—France received him with open arms.—In the celebrated expedition against Portsmouth, by his nautical skill and bravery he saved the French fleet, and two years afterwards he was very successful on the armament against Scotland.—In 1551 the intrigues of the Court and the persecution of Anne de Montmorenci, too much celebrated by a number of historians, forced him to quit the French service. —He sailed for Malta, but the Grand Master was not willing to receive him, and he was reduced to the necessity of turning pirate, and captured even the vessels belonging to the Order. Yet he restored, as soon as his circumstances admitted of it, the full value of every thing

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he had taken, and paid also the interest for the sums in question. After the death of the Spaniard Omedès, he would have been infallibly elected Grand Master, if the electors had not been apprehensive of being involved in his family's disputes.—During the war of Sienna his brother the Marshal took great pains to re-instate him in the French service, and notwithstanding Henry the IId's extreme warmth and quickness of temper, he sacrificed his feelings to the love of his country.—Leone Strozzi had twelve gallies intrusted to his care, with the sole command of all the King's vessels in the Mediterranean and the Italian ports, and the liberty of returning into a French yard at his option and when he thought it necessary.—The last moments of Leone Strozzi, whom the Florentine exiles considered after they had lost his brother, as their second hopes, were fast approaching.—When he had finished the fortifications of Porto-Ercolo, he made a descent at Scarlino dependant on Piombino, and was killed by a shot from a musket fired by a common peasant concealed in the reeds.—" Ah," cries Brantome, " qu'un vilain avec un baston à feu puisse assommer un tel homme !"

His Death.

Leone Strozzi died at thirty-nine, and all the historians boast of his probity, his disinterestedness, and his grandeur of soul. The writers least favourable to him blame him for a want of moderation. His pride certainly occasioned him some considerable embarrassments, and

and what Monsr Thomas has said of Du Guay-Trouïn, "Que la rudesse de l'élement ne s'étoit point communiquée à son esprit," cannot with any justice be applied to him.—On the capture of Porto-Ercolo the conquerors were guilty of a shameful and unmanly outrage of the rights of the grave—took up his body, and threw it into the sea.—They shewed by this ungenerous act how much they had feared him, and indeed his death was reckoned in the number of those happy events, which Fortune lavished from time to time on the Duke of Florence.

Roberto Strozzi.

III. Roberto Strozzi, the third brother, sacrificed the best part of his fortune to revenge his father's untimely end.—We shall find him afterwards married to one of the Medici.

Lorenzo Strozzi.

IV. Lorenzo Strozzi obtained through the interest of his brother the Marshal a Cardinal's Hat, was the King's Lieutenant with the Albigenses in 1562, and unfortunately distinguished himself by his zeal against the Huguenots.—He appears also to have been present at the famous conference between Catherine de' Medici and the Duke of Alba at Bayonne, which was attended with such fatal consequences to France and the Low Countries.

Louisa Strozzi.

V. Louisa Strozzi, the wife of Ludovico Capponi and one of the Florentine Ladies most celebrated for beauty and for virtue, renewed the tragic history of Virginia, being

being poisoned by her brothers, not from motives of hatred or resentment, for they were tenderly attached to her, but solely from their fears that the Duke Alessandro their mortal enemy meant to disgrace the family by the corruption or violation of their sister's honour.

Palla Strozzi.

The Strozzi Family makes a figure in the Florentine annals early in the 14th century.—Towards the year 1380 it was divided between the people and the nobles.—Palla Strozzi, the great grand-father of Filippo the husband of Clarice de' Medici was at the same time the most prudent and illustrious of his ancestors, and one of the most temperate nobles who opposed Cosmo de' Medici the Father of his Country.—When Cosmo was recalled Palla Strozzi put an end to the resistance of the imperious Rinaldo D'Albizzi, and afterwards shared his exile. He returned to Florence, was again banished, and died at Padua in 1462.—We have his funeral oration in the style of Francesco Filelfo, one of his favourites.—Having been a disciple of Chrysoloras (*a*) and of Tommaso Sarzana

(*a*) "Essendo in Firenze Palla, e avendo notizia delle lettere Latine, ma non delle Greche, determinò, che havendo notizia delle lettere Latine, l'avesse anchora delle Greche, e per questo fece ogni cosa che potè, che Manuello Grisolora Greco passassi in Italia, e adoperossi a farne ogni cosa col favore, e accompagnando buona parte della spesa, perchè egli passasse in Italia, come passò per la sua diligentia. Venuto Manuello in Italia nel modo detto col favore di Messer Palla, manchavano i libri, che sanza i libri non si poteva fare nulla. Messer Palla mandò in Grecia per infiniti volumi alle sue ispese. La Cosmografia colla pittura fece venire insino da Gostantinopoli, e quando Messer Lionardo la tradusse, ebbe la copia di Messer Palla.

zana afterwards Nicholas the Vth, he had always been distinguished by his learning, and his taste for the arts and letters, and his posterity have not degenerated.—This numerous and illustrious family has preserved the first distinction in Florence, and been both famous for the number of learned men that have sprung from it, and the patronage it has invariably bestowed on the polite arts and literature.—Chiabrera, the Genoese Pindar, has truly said

"Sempre a gli Strozzi miei piacque Ippocrene."

Alessandro Strozzi.

Alessandro Strozzi, a near relation of Filippo, was highly favoured by the first Grand Duke, and was very frequently employed by him in his political negotiations (*b*).—Many of his fugitive pieces are inserted in the collection of the "Prose Fiorentine."

Giovanni Strozzi was the Grand Duke's envoy to the Council of Trent.

Ciriaco Strozzi.

Ciriaco Strozzi, who died in 1565, added to the Eight Books of Aristotle's Politics a Ninth and Tenth in Greek, in which he endeavoured to imitate the style and manner of

——— Fù tanto il frutto, che seguitò della venuta di Manuello in Italia, che sino al presente di se ne colgono de' frutti, della quale venuta fù cagione Messer Palla, il quale meritò grandissima lode, e commendatione di tutte le opere sue per la generosità dell' animo suo." *Vesp. di Bisticci, vita di Palla di Messer Noferi degli Strozzi.*

(*b*) Manucci, Vita di Cos. I. Gr. Duca.

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of the preceding part of the work. He supplied also the Books of Metaphysics from the commentaries of the Arabs.

Lorenza Strozzi.

From his sister Lorenza Strozzi, a Religious Dominicane, we have some hymns, which are far from contemptible.

Lorenzo Strozzi. Giovanni Batista Strozzi, "Il Cieco."

Lorenzo Strozzi, the brother and historian of Filippo Strozzi, left Giovanni Batista (*c*) surnamed "Il Cieco— "the Blind (*d*)," the Mecænas of his age.—Florence owes to him its academy "degli Alterati," which has produced so many great men.—Janus Nicius Erythræus, or Giovanni Vettore Rossi hath given a splendid character of this Giovanni Batista, by saying "that the regret of his country "on his death was not to be described, and that he was "bewailed by the favourites of genius disinherited by "fortune, who lost in him their master, their patron, "their friend and benefactor (*e*)!"

Piero

(*c*) "Haud obscuri nominis vates Jo. Bapt. Strozza, natus ex connubio Laurentii, Philippi primi Strozzæ filii, et Lucretiæ Oricellariæ, filiæ Bernardi Oricellarii, et Nanninæ Mediceæ, Petri primi filiæ." *Bandini, Spec. Lit. Flor.*

(*d*) Weak eyes and blindness were common at Florence, and on this circumstance Angel. Politianus founds a compliment to Lorenzo de' Medici the Magnificent.

"Cæca fuit quondam tua dicta Fluentia, sed nunc
Cuncta oculos illi te tribuente videt.
Otia namque piis statuisti dulcia Musis,
Quas patriæ veros dixeris esse oculos."

(*e*) "Summâ ille cum laude omnes ætatis industriæque suæ nervos in eo conten-

CHAP. X.

Piero Strozzi.

Piero Strozzi, secretary of the briefs to Leo the XIth and Paul the Vth, excelled so much in the science of architecture as to be almost without a cotemporary equal.—His talents were universally acknowledged, and exposed him to the envy of the artists by profession, who saw themselves surpassed by a person of quality and uncommon learning also in other parts of literature and science.

In 1664 a Count Strozzi came into France with a commission from the Emperor Leopold to request succours against the Turks, who had made an irruption into Hungary with an army of near two hundred thousand men, under the command of the Vizir Mahomet Coprogli.—He received a supply of six thousand French troops, and having succeeded in his negotiation he returned into Hungary to command the Imperialists.—The Count de' Serin had under his orders a corps of Hungarians, and the

dit, ut patria iis rebus pollens existeret, quibus veræ rerumpublicarum fortunæ continentur. Etenim præclara adolescentium ingenia, quæ natura ad omnes egregias artes, tanquam inchoaverat atque dolaverat, excipiebat, ut expoliret atque perficeret. Erat ille philosophicis doctrinis instructus, Græcis ac Latinis litteris doctus, poeticæ facultatis ita peritus, ut non cum æqualibus suis solum, sed cum majoribus etiam natu poetis, compararetur; cujus rei magnam illi facultatem dabat insignis Academia, quæ suis in ædibus, magno litteratorum omnium, qui erant Florentiæ, concursu celebrabatur. Erat oculis, pituitâ e capite defluente, captus; quæ calamitas multos ejus familiæ viros invasit. Mortuus in patriâ, triste omnibus sui desiderium reliquit, sed ejus obitus iis luctuosus fuit inprimis, qui multum ingenii, parum vero a fortunæ muneribus instructi, ducem, magistrum, patronum ac regem sibi ereptum esse querebantur." *Janus Nicius Erythræus.*

the auxiliaries were intrusted to the Count de Hollach.—These three Generals were seldom of the same opinion.—The two first had great courage, but Strozzi was never intended by Nature to command an army, the Count de Serin knew nothing of a siege, and Hollach only knew how to contradict his colleagues.—Montecuculi afterwards was invested with the general command, and the Turks were defeated at the battle of St. Godard.

Carlo Strozzi, who died in 1670, was a celebrated antiquarian, and from his laborious researches had the name of "Pater Antiquitatis."—He collected the famous library of manuscripts belonging to the family. Carlo Strozzi.

Leone Strozzi, at the beginning of the present century, was the author of a very learned treatise "di tutte le pietre dure, e piu preziose." Leone Strozzi.

The two poets Tito and Ercolo Strozzi, father and son, and friends of Ariosto, were descended from a branch of the family settled at Ferrara.—Paulus Iovius hath left an elogium of the son.

The Strozzi family, with all the titles of the first nobility, subsists at Florence, and the present Chamberlain of her Royal Highness the Great Duchess of Tuscany is the Duke Ferdinand Strozzi.

Returning

Ippolito de' Medici.

Returning from this excursion into the Strozzi family to that of Medici, Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, left no children by Filiberta of Savoy, but during his exile he had a son, Ippolito, by a lady of the Urbino family.—Leo the Xth took care of his nephew's education (*f*), and his talents highly deserved his notice and attention.—A greater genius was not to be found, nor a greater taste for the arts and sciences, and letters.—The learned languages were familiar to him almost from his infancy, and he excelled in verse and prose.—Berni (*g*) and other writers mention his translation into blank verse of Virgil's second book of the Æneid, and he was a perfect musician on every instrument. On the flute he was astonishing—he was the first violin in Italy—and on the trumpet (*h*) without a rival.—His liberality was boundless, to

(*f*) "Creato Leone Pontifice triennis cum nutrice Romam venit: tantâ verò suavissimi oris indole, sermonisque festivi lepore mirabili extitit, ut Pontifex eo ad pedes ludente mirum in modum oblectaretur, et ea specie in cænaculo Vaticano (uti videmus) exactissimè pingi juberet." *Paul. Iov.*

"Hieri vidi il S. Hippolitino nel giardino della casa di N. S. più bello, che alcuno de fiori di quel giardino." *Ex. Epist. Bembi.*

(*g*) "Io ho sentito dir tante faccende,
Della traduzion di quel secondo
Libro, ove Troja misera s'incende;
Ch'io bramo averlo, più che mezzo il mondo;
Hovelo detto, e voi non rispondete."

Berni al Card. Ippol.

(*h*) "Prædulcis citharœdus, lyristes numerosus, fistulator eximius, et incomparabilis tibicen, membranea tympana bellico crepitu militares animos excitantia, diversissimis concentûs numeris editis, cum nostrorum, tum barbarorum more, stupendâ imitatione propulsabat." *Paul. Iov.*

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to refuse a request was not in his power—and it was not with gold alone that he rewarded genius and talents.—With the artist and the learned he lived on the most friendly terms, as their equal and companion—his service had nothing harsh nor austere—nothing humiliating—and his dependants felt nothing of his superiority.—These splendid abilities were notwithstanding lowered or obscured by a fickleness and inconstancy without example.—Full of ingenuity and life, his mercurial mind could not bring itself to fix on any settled plan. In his conduct agitation, volatility, levity, and inconsistency, where wholly predominant.—His inattention to the little duties of life, if any duties can be little, and a weak passion for ostentation, carried beyond all bounds, disgusted Clement the VIIth, and chilled his friendship for him.—He was a nearer relation, according to the common opinion, of Clement the VIIth than Alessandro, and it was natural to imagine that a proximity of blood would have given him the first title to the sovereignty of Florence.—His youthful indiscretion however lost him the favour of the Roman Pontiff, and from the want of a proper attention to him he forfeited his pretensions to a Government of which Fortune had given him so flattering a prospect.

Clement the VIIth, notwithstanding the Cardinal Cortona with his two wards had been forced to quit Florence, determined to reinstate the Medici, and the stipulations which he entered into on his peace with the Emperor in-

CHAP. X.

Created a Cardinal.

sured his success. Ippolito was in the way of his favourite nephew, and to remove such a dangerous competitor he bestowed on him a Cardinal's Hat, in defiance of his illegitimate birth, and added to it a number of rich benefices.

Fra Paolo (*a*) relates, that the abuse of a multiplicity of Commendams was carried to such an uncommon excess, that ever since the birth of the troubles excited by Luther, and during the time that the Christian world loudly called for a Reform, Clement the VIIth had the indecency to bestow a Commendam on the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, his cousin, all the vacant benefices in Christendom, secúlar as well as regular, simple, and charged with the cure of souls, with all the dignities and personalities for six months, from the day on which he took possession of them, with full power and authority to dispose of, or convert to his own use, their fruits and produce.

The Cardinal Pallavicini (*b*) disputes this assertion because Fra Paolo has not produced his evidence, but as this spiritual writer does not usually cite his documents, his omission of them in this case will not impeach his credit. If, however, the fact related by Fra Paolo were false, it would not be less certain that Clement the VIIth's nephew

(*a*) *Lib.* 2. (*b*) *Lib.* 9. c. 9.

nephew had been enriched by benefices and bishoprics beyond all bounds.—Where was the Cordelier Menot (*c*)? who exclaimed "Two Mitres and two Crosses," "et ad-"huc non sunt contenti!"—This deluge, however, of Ecclesiastical favour was poured on Ippolito against his inclinations, temporal grandeur being his principal wish, which he only lost sight of with his life.

Alessandro de' Medici placed at the head of the Florentine Government.

Alessandro de' Medici, after the surrender of Florence, was placed at the head of the Government, and the consummate pride and restless audacity of Cardinal Ippolito were at once visible.—Overpowered by his passions, he wished to take the advantage of Alessandro's absence, whom the Emperor kept in Flanders, and attempted to seize the Government, but the ill-concerted enterprise miscarried.

Clement the VIIth some time afterwards sent a reinforcement of troops to the Emperor against the Turks, who

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(*c*) This celebrated Cordelier, who died in 1518, had distinguished himself as a popular preacher by his pious farces and discourses, in which there was a great mixture of sublimity, buffoonery, and vulgar wit. "Les bûcherons," he observes in one of them, "coupent de grosses et de petites branches dans les forêts, et en font des fagots: ainsi nos ecclésiastiques, avec des dispenses de Rome, entassent gros et bénéfices. Le chapeau de cardinal est lardé d'évêchés, et les évêchés lardés d'abbayes et de prieures, et le tout lardé de Diables. Il faut que tous ces biens de l'Eglise passent les trois Cordelieres de *l'Ave Maria*: car le *Benedicta tu*, sont grosses abbayes de Bénédictins; *in mulieribus*, c'est Monsieur et Madame; et *fructus ventris*, ce sont banquets et goinfreries."

who threatened Hungary, and Ippolito was invested with the power of the Pope's Legate. This employment, wholly military, was more suited to his taste, though he conducted himself on the occasion with his usual levity.—The Italian troops mutinied, and Ippolito was suspected of having fomented the revolt.—Charles the Vth, whose pleasure or whose fortune it was to have illustrious prisoners, put Ippolito under arrest, though he afterwards set him at liberty that he might not again irritate the Pope's former wounds, which were still bleeding.—Clement the VIIth had the misfortune to see the animosities between Alessandro and Ippolito increase, but his eyes were not witnesses to their last excesses.

In the Conclave which followed his death Ippolito contributed as far as he was able to the election of Paul the IIId of Farnese, which he had afterwards great reason to lament. The new Pontiff forgot the promise he had made him of the appointment of Legate of Ancona, that he had at heart, where he might have given his cousin Alessandro some uneasiness.—Some of the historians pretend that Alessandro discovered about this time a conspiracy against his life, in which Ippolito had engaged, and Paulus Iovius asserts it very positively.—The strict connection between the Cardinal, Filippo Strozzi, and the Florentine exiles, has been already mentioned.—According to appearances Ippolito would have been their dupe if he had lived, but on his journey to meet the Emperor

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at Tunis he found himself suddenly attacked by a violent disorder of which he died.—Paulus Iovius, the perpetual panegyrist of Alessandro, pretends Ippolito died a natural death.—Every other historian has not a doubt of his being taken off by poison; and whilst some writers accuse the sons of Paul the IIId, to whom every crime was familiar, and who succeeded to his rich spoils, others with more probability have charged Alessandro with it.—Whatever inquiries were made into it, or pretended to be made, they were fruitless, and the transaction has remained in its original uncertainty.

Death of the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici.

His character.

If age had ripen'd Ippolito's understanding, and he had passed that happy but tempestuous season of life, which is in fact but a perpetual delirium, or as the English philosopher Hobbes has expressed it "A NATURAL "DRUNKENNESS," perhaps he might have been a great character. Yet he might also have been a living instance how dangerous it is to prefer too long the flower to the fruit, and agreeable and specious accomplishments to useful talents and solid acquisitions.—The similitude between him and Leo the Xth was striking.—No person died more regretted.—His death was a thunder-stroke that plunged Rome into mourning and affliction, and it ruined legions of Men of Letters, Virtuosi, and the unprotected!—The Arts, Sciences, and Letters were not only patronised by him, but all the graceful exercises; persons who excelled in them had been assembled from all quarters of the

globe;

globe; more than twenty different languages were spoken in his palace (*d*); and the music of every country echoed from its walls.—If he had wished, like the Cardinal Madruci for a serenade by all his dependants at once, like him he might have exclaimed "Eccovi l'Arca di Noë."

Moors, Ethiopians, Turks, Tartars, and Indians formed part of his establishment.—Some excelled in horsemanship, others in dancing, on the lute, in the chace, and almost every other similar pursuit.—Their Patron was their disciple, their rival, and their friend.—Yet these tastes were rather incompatible with his dignity, and began to be inconsistent with his age.—Ippolito died at thirty; Alessandro and the Farnese triumphed at his death, the Florentine exiles appeared to weep over his untimely bier, but they laughed under the mask of apparent grief (*e*).

Ippolito

(*d*) "Floruit Hippolyte, et tecum fato occidit uno,
Quod reliquum antiquæ laudis et artis erat.
Id tua claudebat totum augustissima quondam
Orbis terræ instar quæ domus una fuit,
Nec tibi magno animo quisquam se æquasset et ausis
Grandibus, aut largâ munificâque manu;
Nec poterat Fortuna tuis multum addere rebus,
Quum juveni injecit mors violenta manum.
Tunc bis te undenis de gentibus ora clientum
Fleverunt, cineres condideruntque tuos."
Ant. Vacca.

(*e*) "——— lacrymas non sponte cadentes,
Effudère, cient gemitus de pectore læto."
Lucan, lib. 9. 1038, 1039.

CHAP. X.

Asdrubale de' Medici.

Ippolito left by a mistress Asdrubale de' Medici, afterwards a Knight of Malta, only known by two or three detached passages.—Amongst the letters of Annibale Caro there is one (*f*) addressed to him, though we have no information from it, except that he had a share in the defence of Malta under the Grand Master de la Valette. According to Dempster (*g*), he inherited the genius of his father, and in all likelihood he succeeded to his property and fortune, as there is a private Bull existing, though it is not inserted in the general collection, by virtue of which the illegitimate children of Cardinals succeed "AB INTESTATO" to effects acquired at the distance of forty miles from Rome.—Asdrubale de' Medici died at Pisa.

(*f*) Dated the 24th of April, 1565.

(*g*) "Hasdrubal Mediceus, filius Hippolyti spurius, Eques Melitensis, clarâ et ipse indole, Pisis obiit." *Dempster. Etr. Reg. T. 2. p.* 486.

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CHAP. XI.

CATHERINE DE' MEDICI—Her danger during the siege of Florence—Married to the Duke of Orleans—Believed at first to lean to the Huguenot Party—Falls into the hands of the Duke of Guise—Her political views—Declares the young King of age—Battle of St. Denis—Battle of Jarnac, and death of the Prince de Condé—Massacre on St. Bartholomew's day—Irresolution of the King strengthened by the arts of Catherine de' Medici—Death of Charles the IXth—Formation of the League—Catherine de' Medici loses her political influence—Her flagitious conduct—Assassination of the Duke of Guise and his brother—Death of Catherine de' Medici—Her character—Baneful education of her children—Charles the IXth's horrors before his death—Ronsard the Poet—Clement Marot—Amyot—Luigi Alamanni—Alberto Gondi—The Count de Retz—Charles de Gondi—Seigneur de la Tour—Peter de Gondi—Henry de Gondi—John Francis de Gondi—Cardinal de Retz—Margaret Frances de Gondi—Jacopo Corbinelli—Bernardo Corbinelli—Rafaello Corbinelli—Alessandro de' Medici the first Duke of Florence—Marries Margaret the Emperor's daughter—Assassinated by Lorenzo de' Medici—Profligacy of his character—Giulio de' Medici—Porcia de' Medici—Giuletta de' Medici.

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CHAP. XI.

THE birth of the celebrated Catherine de' Medici, destined to renew the rage of Brunehaud and the fury of Fredegonde, cost her mother Maddalena de Tours her life, and her father the Duke of Urbino having died the same year, she became an orphan under the protection of her great uncle Leo the Xth.—Catherine was the last legitimate branch of Cosmo de' Medici, the Father of his Country.—The Pope, on the death of Lorenzo, had united to the patrimony of the Holy See the Dutchy of Urbino, and Francesco Maria della Rovera, its lawful hereditary Sovereign, reconquered it on the death of Leo.—Notwithstanding these different revolutions Catherine de' Medici still retained the title of Dutchess of Urbino.—Her aunt Clarice, the consort of Filippo Strozzi, had the

Catherine de' Medici.

the care of her education, and under such an able mistress of political intrigue she made a rapid progress in the elements of dissimulation.—Clement the VIIth, it has been said, promised her in marriage to Philibert de Châlons, Prince of Orange, as the price of his conquest of Florence, though it is not certain if this Prince had survived the siege that he would have received her hand.—Catherine was, in the words of Henry Stephens, "Une "pierre de laquelle le Pape voulait faire de plus grands "coups," and shut up within the walls of Florence she ran many risks, and was in imminent danger.—Two citizens lost their heads on the scaffold after the capitulation, one for having expressed a wish of exposing her to the fire of the enemy's batteries, and the other for the more infamous proposal of abandoning her to the prostitution of the populace (*a*).—In the second interview between the Emperor and the Pope, the former pressed Clement to bestow her in marriage on Sforza the Duke of Milan, but the overtures from the French Court occasioned a rejection of the Emperor's offer.—Francis the Ist solicited the alliance for his son the Duke of Orleans, and Anne de Montmorenci negotiated the treaty of marriage, who had afterwards so many reasons to lament the success of his services.—Clement the VIIth eagerly accepted the proposals for this splendid alliance, which at first he had great difficulty

Her danger during the siege of Florence.

(*a*) Battisia Cei was the author of the former proposition, Bernardo Castiglione of the latter. Both were laid before the Council, and unanimously rejected with the horror they deserved.

difficulty to persuade himself was seriously intended.—Having discovered his suspicions to the Emperor, on whom he pretended to rely, Charles assured him that if he pressed the business he would perceive the whole to be an illusion.—Clement followed the advice, warmly hurried on the treaty, and expressed his wishes so very forcibly that the necessary powers for the contract were immediately forwarded and signed. Catherine de' Medici's journey and voyage were hastened with all possible expedition, and soon after she had embarked she landed at Marseilles.

"Le flot qui l'aporta recule épouvanté."

Married to the Duke of Orleans.

Clement the VIIth attended the ceremony in person, gave his apostólic benediction on the marriage, and drew the curtains of the bridal bed, or as the author of the "*Discours Merveilleux*" more strongly expresses it, "ne "pût onc s'en bien assurer qu'il ne les eut vûs couchés "ensemble."

The pliable and artful Florentine soon insinuated herself into Francis the Ist's favour, and the only obtacle of her ambitious views was soon removed by the sudden and unexpected death of the Dauphin Francis, for the other brother Charles, to whom the Ambassador of the Thirteen Cantons who held him at the baptismal font, had given the Hebrew name of Abednego, was Henry's younger brother.

Historians

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Historians have often poisoned with their pens princes who have died a natural death, yet the violent end of the Dauphin can be scarcely doubted, though a celebrated author has questioned it in several parts of his works.—The punishment, and what is stronger evidence of the fact, the confession of Montecuculi, appear to prove it very clearly.—The public voice accused the Emperor, or, from motives of delicacy, his ministers, though it is impossible to divine what could have induced either the Monarch or his ministers to commit so black a crime.—Not the least suspicion then fell on the youthful Catherine, but when her frightful character afterwards unfolded itself the reflection naturally occurred of the powerful interest she had in the Dauphin's death, by which her husband became immediately presumptive heir to the throne of France.—The antient adage was not forgotten, "IS FECIT CUI PROFECIT."—Aretin speaks very equivocally of Henry's succession to the crown, when he says "he did not receive it by accident, but by the MYSTERY "of Fate (*b*)," and the President De Thou expresses himself more decidedly. It is however superfluous to blacken Catherine de' Medici's character with additional crimes, and calumny is itself so very atrocious that we ought even to fear calumniating the infamous and wicked.—It should also be remembered that Catherine was then only seventeen years of age, which is not the age of great crimes, except

(*b*) "Non si vanti la sorte d'averlo assunto in Rè senza solenne misterio di fato."

except in the case of fanaticism, which boils in youthful blood, and cools as it grows old.

During the first ten years of Henry the IId's marriage with Catherine de' Medici they had not any family, and a divorce was in contemplation to enable the Monarch to marry again, with the hopes of providing an heir to the throne.—A Florentine, Giovanni Rondinelli, pretends it was so far determined on that Catherine threw herself at the French King's feet, and begged as her last request she might not be given in marriage to any inferior person, but sent back to Florence to the convent "Delle "Murate," where she had been educated. The King, touched with her tears and resignation, gave her his hand, and assured her, on the faith of a man of honour (*c*), his usual oath, that she should live and die Henry's consort (*d*).

It

(*c*) "On the Faith of a Gentleman" was the simple oath of Francis the Ist. Charles the Vth, his rival, also constantly made use of a similar expression, but there was an essential difference between them. Francis the Ist religiously observed his oath, Charles the Vth in general acted contrary to what he had sworn, and adopted in its full extent the maxim of the French poet,

"Il faut SEMBLER homme de BIEN
Et cependant ne VALOIR RIEN."

(*d*) "Non portando figiuoli, e forte dubitando del suo ripudio, sentì lungo spazio nella Regal Signoria, molto maggiore il peso della sollicitudine, che il piacer dell' imperio. E come savia si mise in animo di sostenere e aspettar virilmente checchè di lei avvenir dovesse, sempre col suo sapere e colle realissime sue maniere ingegnandosi, non solo di mantenersi nella grazia del suo marito, ma di sempre più andarla acquistando, lui osservando, e come prudentissima, ogni riverenza al Rè Francesco

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It is a received opinion that Fernel the celebrated physician had been consulted on the sterility of their nuptial bed, and that Henry ask'd him in plain but curious terms if he could procure him a family.—Fernel very properly and very prudently replied, "that it rested with Providence to bless him with children, and that he could only prescribe those medicines which in its bounty it had created for the relief of human infirmities (*e*)."—Four sons and as many daughters were afterwards the fruit of their mutual love.—Catherine, with the thirst alone of reigning, gave her husband no uneasiness by any importunate jealousy, and saw without concern the colours, the crest, and cypher of Diana de Potiers, her rival, flying wherever she went. The Louvre, stuck full of the initial letters of the youthful Monarch and his Mistress, twisted amorously together, did not affect her temper or her spirits, and she even shewed an extraordinary attention and more than common civility to her rival, that she might

portando. Al quale, pur tuttavia temendo (oh umiltà ripiena d'altissimo senno!) chiese ella ispezial grazia, che dovendo prendere Arrigo il suo marito altra donna, non sappiendo la forza del matrimonio, lei non volesse ad altro uomo rimaritare, ma nel venerando monistero delle Murate, ond'ella prima era uscita, gli piacesse di ritornarla. Piacque cotanto a quel magnanimo principe quest' atto ripieno d'inudita umiltà, che, confortatola, l'assicurò, che ella e viverebbe e morebbe moglie d'Arrigo." *Orazione in morte di Catarina, da Giov. Rondinelli.*

(*e*) "Docteur ferais-tu bien un enfant à ma femme?" was Henry's question, and "c'est a Dieu, Monseigneur, à vous donner des enfans par sa benediction, C'EST A VOUS A LES FAIRE, et à moi à y aporter ce qui est de la Medicine ordonnée de Dieu pour la remede des infirmités humaines" Fernel's reply.

might not prejudice her in the King's favour. Henry, indeed, notwithstanding his attachment to his antient mistress, behaved with decent tenderness to his youthful Queen, and often said, if we are to believe Brantome, "que sur toutes les femmes du monde, il n'y avoit que la "Reine sa femme, et qu'il n'en savoit aucune qui la vas- "lût: il avoit raison de le dire," adds Brantome, "car "c'estoyt une belle Princesse et aymable (*a*)."

During her husband's reign, however, her interest and influence were trifling. The King, it has been supposed, was well aware of her disposition, knew what little confidence was to be placed in her, and under a conviction of her pernicious principles when he intrusted her with the administration in his absence in Germany, that procured France three bishoprics, he left such vigilant guardians of her conduct as rendered her the Regent but in name.

Montgomeri's fatal lance having rendered her a widow, she connected herself very closely with the Dukes of Guise, uncles of the young Queen of the Scots, and whether she had not yet fathomed the depth of their ambition, or believed their situation as strangers would point out to them the propriety of being satisfied with a share of the authority which the Princes of the Blood wholly

(*a*) *Brantome, tom.* 2. 264.

wholly claimed, she concurred with them in keeping at a distance and humiliating the Bourbons.—She mistook their characters, and they became all-powerful during the reign of their feeble nephew.—Catherine de' Medici, stung to the heart and dissatisfied, appeared however to act in concert with these illustrious tyrants, and contented herself with the precaution of exposing them alone to the odious obloquy of the vengeance at Amboise (*b*), and the fruitless sentence against the Prince of Condé.

The death of Francis the IId changed the whole face of affairs, and the power and the credit of the Guises sunk at once, and the Bourbon Family resumed its influence.—Catherine was solicitous to exclude them all, in order to hold the reins of Government herself.—It was then she adopted the maxim on which she acted for the rest of her life, that "TO DIVIDE WAS TO GOVERN."

—The

(*b*) The President De Thou has entered into a detailed account of the attempt on Amboise. Of the severity of the Guises the Reader may form his own judgment.—"Præcipitata multorum judicia ac supplicia, cum alii noctu ad pinnas arcis suspenderentur; alii, quorum spectaculo homines permoveri posse metus erat, IN PROFUNDUM MERGERENTUR, interdiu vero permulti ad supplicia MORE INSOLITO rapiebantur, SINE ELOGIO AC CRIMINIS TITULO, et sine vocali carnificis præconio, denique NOMINIBUS DAMNATORUM SUPPRESSIS: ita ut FLUMEN CADAVERIBUS SUPERNATARET, OPPIDI VICI SANGUINE EXUNDARENT, PLATEÆ HOMINUM PATIBULIS SUFFICIORUM SILVA HORRESCERENT, duces ultimi servati, ut PER TORMENTA ex eorum ore conjurationis conscii noscerentur." *Jac. Thuani Hist. lib.* 24.—I am now entering on beaten ground, and there is scarcely an inch that has not been already occupied. I shall therefore borrow very freely from my predecessors in the following Notes to this Chapter, and in adding the names of the authors to whom I am indebted I conceive myself to have discharged my obligations.

—The feeble Navarre gave her not the shadow of apprehension or inquietude, except from his rank as first Prince of the Blood; but she saw with a malignant eye the strict intimacy formed between the Constable and the elder of the Guises, which seemed to threaten the ruin of all her projects.—The religious troubles soon afterwards disturbed the kingdom, and the edict of July, 1561, was only a palliative.—From many circumstances it was believed that the Queen leaned towards the Huguenot party, and the Roman Catholics were violently alarmed at her confidence in Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and Colloque de Poissy.—Pius the IVth grew pale and trembled on his apparently receding throne at her famous letter, in which she frankly told him "that the number of those "who had quitted the Church of Rome was so much in-"creased that neither law nor force was capable of re-"ducing them; that many of the first personages of the "kingdom seduced others by their example; that as there "was not a single individual amongst them who did not "admit the first six councils, many persons were of opi-"nion that they might be safely admitted to the commu-"nion; that if his Holiness should be of a different senti-"ment, and thought it preferable to wait the decision of "a General Council, it would be necessary to have re-"course to some provisional remedy for many who had "not yet wholly separated themselves; that for this pur-"pose it might be prudent to remove the images out of "the Churches, which Gregory had condemned, and

Believed at first to lean to the Huguenot party.

"God had forbidden; to leave out "the saliva" at baptism, and other superstitious ceremonies which were "not absolutely prescribed by the Word of God; that "the Curates ought to explain the passages of Scripture "relating to the Eucharist; that the feast of the Holy "Sacrament, which had been instituted only for its pomp, "should be abolished; that the cup should be given to "the laity, and that the prayers should be delivered in "the common tongue."

The edict of January 1562, that gave the Huguenots permission to meet publicly, occasioned the massacre at Vassy, and brought on those hostilities for which there had been long an inclination.—The Guises entered Paris in triumph, in direct opposition of the Queen's orders, and in disobedience of her positive injunctions. She felt the insult very sensibly, but she trembled before the formidable Triumvirate, as the league between the Duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Marshal de St. André, had been called.—Apprehensive these three powerful subjects might attempt to possess themselves of the sovereign authority, under the specious pretext of supporting the established Religion, she resolved to call to her assistance the only person she could employ, and recommending to the Prince of Condé the King, herself, her children, and the kingdom, conjured him to employ his whole force and power against their common adversaries.—Condé having retired to Meaux, the Duke of Guise did not let

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slip the opportunity, and appeared at Court with great state, and with a numerous body of guards.—He flattered himself that Catherine de' Medici, taking into contemplation the respective power of the two parties, would be forced, whatever might be her inclinations, to attach herself to the strongest, and he did not deceive himself. The enterprise succeeded, and the Triumvirate became the master of the Court (*c*).

Falls into the hands of the Duke of Guise.

Condé

(*c*) " Davila has given the most satisfactory and interesting detail of Catherine's conduct during this whole transaction. It is beyond a doubt that she yielded to a force which she was unable to resist; and that she exerted every artifice to induce the King of Navarre and the "Triumvirate" to leave herself and the young King at liberty. She even used so many powerful arguments to incline them to permit her to remain at Fontainbleau, where the Court would at least have had the appearance of being free, that the King of Navarre and the Constable were on the point of yielding to her intreaties, if the Duke of Guise had not dissuaded them from any such compliance.

De Thou says, that in a Council which was held by the "Triumvirate," the Marechal de St. André proceeded to such lengths of violence as to propose to throw the Queen Mother into the Seine, if she should dare to oppose or impede the journey to Paris. He adds, that Catherine had prepared a boat in which she meant to carry off her son Charles the IXth, during the night previous to their departure from Fontainbleau, but that she found it impossible to deceive the vigilance of Montmorenci.—" The Queen Mother," says Davila, " perceiving it in vain to attempt any resistance to the peremptory requisition of the Catholic Lords, and of Anthony, instantly resolved to yield with grace; and mounting on horseback, with the King and her two younger sons, being surrounded by the " Triumvirate" and their attendants, reached Milan that night; from whence they proceeded on the following day to Paris.—The young King," continues Davila, " was seen to weep on that occasion, being conscious that he was treated as a prisoner; the Regent, perplexed in mind, foreseeing a civil war, and finding all her projects overthrown, spoke not a word, but observed a gloomy silence; while the Duke of Guise, regardless of the King's tears, or of the Queen Mother's distress, was heard publicly to say, 'that the good is always good, whether it proceed from love or from force.'—These are the most interesting circumstances of that memorable transaction." *Wraxall's Hist. of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois, vol.* 2. 122. 8*vo*. 1785.

CHAP. XI.

Her political views.

Condé having learned the fluctuation in the Queen's councils, and seeing himself overreached by his enemies seized on Orleans.—Catherine turned all her attention towards the best mode of weakening both these factions, and she fondly hoped not only to be able to reduce them to a level with each other, but also to cripple them in such a manner, as she might easily acquire again an absolute power.—With these insidious intentions she involved them in a long train of artful negotiations. The Bishop Montluc, her confidant, prevailed on Condé, under the idea of getting rid of the Triumvirate, to make the offer of quitting the kin om if his rivals would subscribe to the same condition; which the Bishop assured him would do him immortal honour, and overwhelm his enemies with odium and disgrace.—The Queen eagerly accepted the proposal, and nothing could have happened more agreeable to her than to see herself at once delivered from four persons who were all equal to her in authority and influence.—Condé's proposition was not, however, successful, a bloody war was soon kindled on every side, and Fortune on the plains of Dreux seemed to be undecisive in the choice of the hero that was to be her future favourite.

The Great Duke of Guise being assassinated at the siege of Orleans (*d*), the Queen thought it high time to put

(*d*) " Davila says, that the Duke was shot by Poltrot on the 24th of February in

put an end to the war, from the fear of giving too much power to the Prince of Condé or the Constable, whom she now considered as the leaders of the two hostile parties.—After the Edict of Peace, and the capture of Havre de Grace, with a view of depriving them both of their hopes of governing, she declared the King of age, and

Declares the young King of age.

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the evening, being the feast of St. Matthias, that the assassin was mounted on a swift Jennet, and discharged three balls into his right shoulder, all which passing through his body laid him on the ground as dead. He agrees with Brantome in many of the particulars respecting the Duke's death; and adds, that he expired on the third day from that on which he received the wound.

De Thou coincides with the historians already mentioned as to all the leading facts. He is very minute in his account of Poltrot, and mentions many curious circumstances relative to that fanatic, which tend to hold up in the strongest point of view, the atrocious spirit of the times, when devotion and the most flagitious crimes were continually found united in the same person and character. In his interrogation before the Queen Mother and the principal Lords of the Court, Poltrot, among many other facts which he confessed, and which evince the force of that gloomy and sanguinary enthusiasm by which he was actuated, declared 'that only a few moments before he killed the Duke of Guise, he had dismounted from his horse in a neighbouring wood, and on his knees had urgently besought the Lord to turn his mind, and to change his resolution, if it arose from the suggestions of the Evil Spirit.'—Many similar instances occur in the history of these melancholy times, when the human mind was under the dominion of the most inveterate errors, heightened and inflamed by the acrimony of religious differences. Jacques Clement, the Jacobin Friar, who stabbed Henry the IIId in 1589, received the sacrament and passed the day in prayer, previous to an act of regicide and assassination.

Brantome, who served under the Duke of Guise, and was at the siege of Orleans, has given the most minute account of the circumstances of this assassination. "On the evening when the Duke was killed," says he, "only Monsieur de Rostain accompanied him, and he had just passed the river in a little boat which constantly waited for that purpose. Poltrot immediately fled on discharging his pistol; and affecting to be a pursuer of the assassin, cried out 'Take him! take him!'—The Duke, perceiving himself dangerously wounded, only said 'L'on me devoit celle-la mais je crois que ce ne sera rien.'" *Wraxall's Hist. of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois, vol. 2. 144—146.*

and after this vain parade he was more than ever under his Mother's influence and power.—Ordinances, directly contrary to the Edict of Peace, excited fresh complaints from the Huguenots, who had reason likewise to suspect (e) on the interview between Catherine de' Medici and the Duke of Alva at Bayonne, a treaty had been concluded which would be productive of the most calamitous consequences.

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(e) "De Thou gives credit to the suspicion of measures having been concerted at Bayonne for the extermination of the Protestants; though he seems to rest the proof of such an intention chiefly on the assertion of the Calvinist Writers themselves. Jean Baptista Adriani, who was the continuator of Guicciardini's History, confirms the accusation, and adds, that the conferences between Catherine and the Duke of Alva were held at the desire of the Pope; that it was determined to renew the SICILIAN VESPERS, and not to spare even the persons of the highest quality or distinction. It is even pretended that the city of Moulins, where an assembly of the principal nobility was convoked to meet in January 1566, was destined to be the scene of this Tragedy.—Davila expressly avows Catherine's intention of cutting off the heads of heresy, and destroying the Hugonots. He only says, that the Duke of Alva was of opinion to employ the most violent and sanguinary measures; while the Queen Mother, consulting the genius of the French Nation, reluctant to imbrue her hands in the blood of the first Nobility and Princes of the Royal Family, dreading a renewal of the civil commotions, and fearful of the dismemberment of the Kingdom by the introduction of English and German auxiliaries, leaned to more gentle and temporizing counsels.—Nothing can be better established than the secret consultations for the destruction of the Hugonots, during the interview of Bayonne, though it is difficult to say how accurately the precise and minute features of that plan were traced. Francis de la Noue, a Protestant Writer, asserts that the Prince of Condé and Coligny received exact information of the intention to massacre themselves and their adherents at the assembly of Moulins. It is certain that they conceived a general well-founded suspicion of the hostile and treacherous designs of the Court from the time of the interview at Bayonne, and that it laid the foundation of the renewal of the civil war in little more than two years afterwards." *Wraxall's History of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois, vol. 2. 158, 159.*

Battle of St. Denis.

The Prince of Condé soon took up arms again, narrowly failed surprising the Court at Meaux, and blockaded Paris.—Montmorenci gave battle to him at St. Denis, and lost his life in the action (*a*).—Catherine blest her

(*a*) "Il Contestabile ferito di quattro piccole ferite nel volto, e di un gran colpo di martello ferrato sopra la testa, combatteva tuttavia con grandissimo valore, e tentava di rimettere, e di riordinare la sua battaglia, quando Ruberto Stuardo di natione Scozzese se gli affaciò dinanzi con l'archibugio abbassato alla sua volta, al quale havendo detto il Contestabile. Tu non mi conosci, io sono il Contestabile, egli replicò, anzi perchè ti conosco, io ti appresento questa, e gli sparò la pistola nella spalla, per la violenza della quale cadendo egli par terra, avventò con tanto impeto nel viso allo Stuardo le reliquie della spada, la quale rotta la lama haveva ancora in mano, che rottigli trè denti, e fracassatagli la mascella, lo trasse a canto a se in terra, come per morto. ———— Finì il dì seguente a quello della battaglia, il Contestabile i giorni suoi, havendo nell' età di ottanta anni combattuto con ferocia, e con valore giovenile, e dinostrato non meno l'ardire dell' animo, che il vigore del corpo. Morì senza turbatione di mente, e con grandissima costanza, si che essendosi accostato al letto ove giaceva, un religioso per volerlo confortare, egli rivoltatosi, con viso sereno, e quieto, LO PREGO, CHE NON LO MOLESTASSE, PERCHE SAREBBE STATA COSA MOLTO BRUTTA, LO HAVER SAPUTO VIVERE OTTANTA ANNI, E NON SAPERE MORIRE UN QUARTO D'HORA. Fù huomo di esquisita solertia, e di matura prudenza accompagnata da una lunghissima esperienza degli accidenti del mondo, con le quali arti s'acquistò felicemente per se, e per i posteri grandissima copia di richezze, e le prime dignità, che soglia dispensare quella Corona; ma ne' comandi militari, fù accompagnato sempre da così cattiva fortuna, che in tutte le guerre, delle quali hebbe il governo, restò sempre ò perdente ò gravemente ferito, ò prigione; le quali disgratii furono anco cagione, che molte volte fosse revocata in dubbio la candidezza della sua fede, anzi in questa ultima prova, ove lasciò combattendo la vita, non mancarono gli emuli di accusarlo, che militando per servitio del Rè contro a' proprii nipoti, con l' attaccare la battaglia nell' inclinare del giorno, e con lasciare adietro la fanteria, non volesse conseguire, come haverebbe potuto, una vittoria perfetta. Quelli, che discorrevano senza passione delle qualità sue, gli davano per ordinario trè principali attributi, di BUON CAPITANO, di AMOREVOLE SERVITORE, ma di CATTIVO AMICO, affermando, che il proprio interesse reggeva sempre il corso di tutte l'attitioni sue." *Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia di H. C. Davila*, *tom.* 1. 136—188. *Folio. Venet.* 1738. Ro-

CHAP. XI.

Battle of Jarnac, and death of the Prince de Condé.

her stars, though she cautiously concealed her joy.—From the perfidious infraction of a new edict Condé had again recourse to hostilities, and fell afterwards at the battle of Jarnac assassinated by Montesquiou (*b*), but the shattered

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Robert Stuart was afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Jarnac, and being brought before Henry Duke of Anjou, the Marquis de Villars besought the Prince's permission to put him to death as an offering to the manes of Montmorenci. Henry long refused to consent to so base a murder; but at length overcome with the importunity of the Marquis, he turned his head aside and said "Well then—be it so!" Stuart, with animated entreaty, represented to him how ignominious and dastardly an action he was about to authorize, and endeavoured to awaken his compassion and sense of honour; but all was ineffectual: he was led a little on one side, disarmed, and put to death, in the very hearing of the Duke." *Wraxall's History of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois. vol. 2.* 169.

(*b*) "Imperterrito vulta signa inferri jubet, tantaque vi impressionem fecit, ut obvios quosque ordines solveret, sed jam cum toto exercitu adveniente Andino a majore numero undique circumfusus, et post acerrimum ac sæpius restitutum certamen, dum ante alios pugnat, nullumque non solum ducis, sed militis officium hortando, pugnando, et ordines circumeundo prætermittit, tandem desertus a suis equo suffosso et supra incumbente oppressus est, ibi Eparchium Tisonem Argentium et Saninium conspicatus, et quis esset reducta galea professus, eorum se fidei permisit, verum illi cum de vita salvam fidem vicissim interposuisset, quominus eam servare potuerint, in causa fuit Montesquius Andivi stipatorum ductor, qui mox NON SINE OCCULTIS, UT CREDITUR, MANDATIS advenit, et cum ipsis colloquentem Condæum a tergo aggressus sclopetto in cervicem adacto confecit. Hic exitus fuit Ludovici Borbonii Condæi regiæ stirpis viri supra natalium splendorem magnitudine animi ac virtute illustrissimi, qui fortitudine, constantia, ingenio, solertia, rerum usu, comitate, facundia, libertate, quæ omnes simul virtutes in illo uno excellebant, paucos æquales, neminem sua ætate vel inimicorum confessione superiorem habuit." *Jac. A. Thuani, Hist. lib.* 45.

Brantome has undesignedly perpetuated the Duke of Anjou's disgrace in his account of the indignities offered to Condé's remains. "Monsieur le Prince, estant mort, Monsieur n'en fut nullement marry, mais tres joyeux, car il avoit opinion qu'il luy en eust faire de mesme: car d'ennemy à grand ennemy, il n'y a que se garder. Monsieur le voulut voir après la battaile achevée: et son corps fut chargé SUR UNE VIELLE ANESSE, qui se trouva là à propos, plus par DERISION que

shattered remains of the Huguenot army were preserved by the courage and resolution of Coligny, and in his intrepidity and talents the hopes of the Protestants revived. —Catherine de' Medici perceived that without stratagem and perfidy she could never succeed in the reduction of the Huguenots, and she laid the plan of drawing their chiefs and leaders within the reach of her poignard.—She proposed to give her second daughter in marriage to the young King of Navarre, and Coligny being invited to Court was loaded with caresses, of which he was the dupe or braved the danger.

CHAP. XI.

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pour autre sujet; et fut porté ainsi BRAS ET JAMBES PENDANTES à Jarnac, en une basse salle sous celle de Monsieur.—Le dit Prince demeura assez en spectacle à tous ceux du camp qui le voulurent aller voir. Puis Monsieur de Longueville, son beau frere, en demanda le corps à Monsieur, pour le faire ensevelir, qui luy fut octroyé librement. Il fut fait de luy cette epitaph

L'an mil cinq cent soixante-neuf
Entre Jarnac et Chasteauneuf
Fut porté sur une asnesse
Cil qui vouloit oster la Mess."

Œuvres de Brantome, tom. 6. 340.

In the Henriade of Voltaire there is an apostrophe to the youthful Hero on this tragical story, which is as pathetic as it is beautiful.—

"O! Plaines de Jarnac! O! coup trop inhumain!
Barbare Montesquiou, moins guerrier qu'assassin
Condé deja mourant tombe sous ta furie;
J'ai vu porter le coup; j'ai vu trancher sa vie,
Helas! trop jeune encore, mon bras, mon foible bras
Ne put ni prevenir ni venger son trepas."

La Henriade, cant. 2. Œuvres de Voltaire, tom. 1. 67. ed. Genev. 8vo. 1775.

It has been generally believed that he was so effectually deceived, that neither repeated information from his friends, the sudden death of the Queen Mother of Navarre, nor even the attempt on his own person could open his eyes, and make him sensible of his perilous situation.—Perhaps, however, he waited the event with the magnanimity of an hero, and sick of the melancholy scenes of civil carnage which he had already witnessed, with the integrity of a patriot had determined his sword should be no longer stained with his country's blood (*c*).

Massacre on the night of St. Bartholomew.

The execrable night of St. Bartholomew, that master-stroke of Infernal Policy, will be for ever the horror of mankind!—A Prince upon the throne and a living Tyrant, will always find authors as infamous and criminal as themselves to attempt an excuse for their atrocious actions.—In our days, when the public philosophizes in prose and verse, when humanity is on every lip, was it to have been expected, this odious night so long passed, and this abandoned woman crumbled into dust nearly two

(*c*) Every artifice had been made use of to draw the leaders of the Huguenots to Court, and to lull their remaining fears and apprehensions to sleep. When the Admiral came to pay his duty to his Sovereign, Charles assured him of his regard for him, and added with a perfidious smile, "Enfin nous vous tenons; vous ne vous eloignerez plus de nous quand vous le voudrez."—Such was the Royal treachery to which Coligny fell a sacrifice, for

"Rarement un heros connait la defiance."

As he lived he died,

"Avec toute sa gloire et toute sa vertu."

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two centuries, should have found a single advocate?—Yet the MILD and MODEST Abbé de Caveirac has termed it only a "simple affair of Proscription (*d*)."—Admirable Excuse!—Exquisite Humanity!—By a single stroke of his pen the FEMALE DEMON rises like the swan with its white and unsullied plumage out of the transparent stream into which it had so deeply plunged!—Another REVEREND PRIEST has with the same ORTHODOX SPIRIT endeavoured to justify the Irish Massacre on the foolish and frightful argument "that to preserve one "half of a people the other may be lawfully destroyed."—Are such the principles of Christianity?—Are these the tenets of that Divine Religion, which breathes through every part of its heavenly system "Peace on earth, "Good-will towards men?"

Almost all the historians have taken notice of a festival at the Tuilleries four days before the massacre on the night of St. Bartholomew, in which the dreadful cruelties that hung so immediately over the heads of the Hugue-nots were emblematically represented (*e*).—In the Memoirs

(*d*) "Ce ne fut, qu'une simple affaire de proscription."

(*e*) "Beatorum sedes artificiose ad dextram repræsentantur et paulo infra campi Elysii, qui a XII Nymphis occupabantur, ex adverso ad lævam Tartarus larvis et ad horrorem compositis mormoluceis sulphure et igne plenis crebro micans suberat. Paradisum quem vocabant, tuebantur Rex Andinus et Alenconius Fratres, quem perrumpere conati complures bellatores errantes, quorum dux erat Navarrus, cum ad unum omnes repulsi essent, postremo in Tartarum præcipitati sunt. ——— Spectaculum illud multi aliter atque aliter interpretati sunt, quod oppugnatores, qui fere

moirs of "l'Etat de France" under Charles the IXth there is a full description of this treacherous spectacle.—

"Premièrement en la dite salle, à main droite, il y "avoit le Paradis, l'entrée duquel étoit défendue par trois "Chevaliers armés de toutes pièces, qui étoyent Charles "et ses frères; à main gauche étoit l'Enfer, dans lequel "il y avoit un grand nombre de Diables et de petits Dia-"bloteaux, faisant infinies singeries et tintamares avec "une grande roue tournante dans le dit Enfer, toute en-"vironnée de clochettes. Le Paradis et l'Enfer étoient "séparés par une rivière qui étoit entre deux, sur laquelle "il y avoit une barque conduite par Caron nautonnier "d'Enfer. A l'un des bouts de la salle et derrière le Pa-"radis étoyent les Champs Elisées, à savoir un jardin em-"belli de verdures et de toutes sortes de fleurs; et le Ciel "Empirée, qui étoit une grande roue avec les douze "Signes du Zodiaque, les sept Planètes et une infinité de "petites Etoiles faites à jour, rendant une grande lueur "et éclat par le moyen des lampes et flambeaux, qui "étoyent artistement accommodés par derrière. Cette "roue étoit dans un continuel mouvement, faisant aussi "tourner le jardin dans lequel étoyent douze nymphes "fort richement parées. Dans la salle se présentèrent "plusieurs troupes de Chevaliers Errans" (c'étaient des Seig-

Protestantes erant, Beatorum sedes frustra ingredi conati, inde in profundum Tartarum relegati essent; nam ita contumeliose Protestantibus illusum esse: idque sinistri aliquid etiam alii portendere ominabantur." *Jac. Aug. Thuani Hist. lib.* 52.

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Seigneurs de la Réligion qu'on avait choisis exprès) " ils " étoyent armés de toutes pièces, vêtus de diverses " livrées et conduits par leurs Princes" (le Roi de Navarre et le jeune Condé) " tous lesquels tâchant de gagner le " Paradis, pour aller ensuite querir ces Nymphes au jar- " din, en étoyent empêchés par les trois Chevaliers qui en " avoyent la garde, lesquels l'un après l'autre se présen- " toyent à la lice et ayant rompu la pique contre les dits " assaillans, et donné le coup de coutelas, les renvoyoient " vers l'Enfer, où ils étoient trainés par les Diables et " Diabloteaux. Cette forme de combat dura jusqu'à ce " que les Chevaliers Errans eussent été combattus et " trainés un à un dans l'Enfer, lequel fut ensuite clos et " fermé. A l'instant descendirent du Ciel, Mercure et " Cupidon portés sur un coq. Le Mercure étoit cet Eti- " enne le Roi, chantre tant renommé, lequel étant à terre, " se vint présenter aux trois Chevaliers, et après un chant " mélodieux, leur fit une harangue, et remonta au Ciel " sur son coq, toujours chantant. Alors les trois Che- " valiers se levèrent de leurs sièges, traversèrent le Para- " dis, allèrent aux Champs Elisées querir les douze " Nymphes, et les amenèrent au milieu de la salle, où " elles se mirent à danser un ballet fort diversifié, et qui " dura une grosse heure. Le ballet achevé, les Cheva- " liers qui étoient dans l'Enfer furent délivrés, et se mi- " rent à combattre en foule et à rompre des piques. Le " combat fini, on mit le feu à des trainées de poudre, qui " étoient autour d'une fontaine dressée presqu'au milieu

de

"de la salle, d'où s'éleva un bruit et une fumée qui fit re-"tirer chacun. Tel fut le divertissement de ce jour, d'où "l'on peut conjecturer quelles étoyent, parmi telles fein-"tes, les pensées du Roi et du Conseil secret."

Catherine de' Medici was the soul of this secret council.

"Dux fœmina facti."

The historian of the streets of Paris bursts out into a noble indignation on the subject.—"Must we not shiver," he asks, "with horror at the recollection of a woman who "could imagine and prepare such a festival only four "days previous to the massacre of a great part of the in-"habitants of a nation over which she reigned; who "smiled over the unsuspecting victims—laughed at the "carnage—danced on the borders of a river of blood—"and listened to the sounds of music amidst the dying "groans of a hundred thousand miserable wretches who "were murdered by her orders?"

Irresolution of the King strengthened by the arts of Catherine de' Medici.

The dreadful tragedy was intended to begin an hour before the break of day, when the palace clock struck.—Catherine believed about midnight, as the hour of everlasting infamy approached, that her son felt some irresolution or remorse, and apprehensive he might recal the fatal order, she exerted herself to strengthen and invigorate his wavering and agitated mind.—An infernal being, in

in the figure and attitude of this cruel woman, starts up almost before the astonished eye, when we read of her holding her son's hand, and addressing him in the following language:—"Monsieur mon fils, dans ce moment la "pitié serait absurde, et la clémence imbécille. Les ex-"trêmes sont fâcheux; mais ce sont des moyens sages "quand ils sont nécessaires. Ce qu'ils ont de beau, c'est "qu'ils sont décisifs quand ils sont bons. Venez, je veux "vous faire renifler l'odeur des cadavres, et vous faire "convenir qu'un ennemi mort sent bon. Ah la laide gri-"mace que va faire votre père Coligny! Les hommes "multiplient comme les rats dans une grange; une autre "nuit de Paris ou de France réparera tout cela. Ne ba-"lancez donc plus, chargez votre carabine, et finissez "votre rôlet."

The unfortunate son of such a parent listened but too fatally to her execrable councils, and he became the unparalleled executioner of his own subjects!—A little dissimulation was at first supposed to be convenient, but the Court soon afterwards audaciously avowed the whole transaction.—Great is the public misfortune when the FIRST MAGISTRATE OF THE PEOPLE has lost his integrity and virtue; it is still greater when to the loss of integrity and virtue may be added that of Shame!

The Abbé du Bos has said in the History of the French Monarchy, where he speaks of the murther of the sons of

of Clodomir, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, rather than have found the latter on record he would have been contented to have given up ten victories.—He might have added he would rather have given up ten thousand. —It stands indeed alone—without an equal—a monument of everlasting infamy and awe!—Its horrors are singular—of a species without example—they set every comparison at defiance—and are not to be paralleled in the annals of mankind!

Some writers have hazarded a paradox, and observed that as dreadful as this fatal night was to the French of the sixteenth century, its effects have been beneficial to the succeeding times and mankind in general, as no other event so effectually opened the eyes of Sovereigns, and more efficaciously exposed to them Machiavel's destructive policy.—Yet this dreadful political experiment, instead of bringing with it a remedy for the wounds of the State, irritated and inflamed them.—Violent convulsions and deliriums followed the barbarous amputation. —A fresh and furious war immediately broke forth—despair gave the surviving Huguenots, who had escaped the general carnage, courage and resolution, and they preferred dying in the field of glory, in defence of their lives and families, to being butchered in cold blood by their unfeeling enemies.

Catherine de' Medici, calm and collected amidst these horrid

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horrid events, was not inattentive to the interests of her favourite son the Duke of Anjou, and had procured for him by her intrigues the Crown of Poland.—As much however as she exerted herself in his favour her regret increased as he prepared to set out to take possession of his new kingdom. She conducted him as far as Lorraine, and Heaven only knows whether she did not flatter herself in secret that his absence would not be of long duration.

On her return into France she began to fear the Duke of Alençon, who had not the same profound respect for her, would ask for the place of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, an appointment which Henry had filled, and which with the assistance of the Huguenots might give him an opportunity of exciting fresh troubles, and depriving her of the whole authority.—She did not fail to insinuate her suspicions into the King's mind for the purpose of obtaining the employment for Charles of Lorraine her son-in-law, on the full persuasion her power would then be absolute.—The Duke of Alençon on his part was disposed to join the Huguenots; but a little before the departure of the King of Poland, Charles the IXth fell dangerously ill, and his recovery was despaired of about this period.—By the direction of Catherine de' Medici he wrote circular letters, in which he declared that his indisposition would no longer suffer him to attend to the public affairs, and that he had intrusted the Government to his

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his Mother, who was every way worthy of his confidence. Yet this circumstance, related unanimously by all the historians, does not agree with the account of a very well-informed writer, who had an opportunity of being fully acquainted with every thing that passed—Cayet, the sub-preceptor of Henry the IVth, and author of the "Chro-"nologies Novenaire et Septenaire," a scarce historical collection, full of many curious and important anecdotes not generally known.—"Le Roi se sentant près de sa "fin, après avoir été longtems sans sonner mot, dit en se "tournant, et comme s'il se fût reveillé, apellez mon "frère: la Reine mere était présente, qui envoya soudain "querir Monseigneur le Duc d'Alençon. Le Roi le voy-"ant, se retourna de l'autre côté, et dit derechef; Qu'on "fasse venir mon frère: la Reine sa mere lui dit, Mon-"sieur, je ne sçai pas qui vous demandez, voilà votre "frère: le Roi se fâcha et dit; Qu'on aille querir mon "frère le Roi de Navarre, c'est celui-là qui est mon frère. "—— Le Roi de Navarre tout ému, pleurant et soupi-"rant, alla de genoux jusqu'aux pieds du lit; le Roi "Charles l'ayant fait aprocher, l'embrassa étroitement et "le baisa, lui disant ces paroles: Mon frere, vous perdez "un bon maitre et un bon ami. Je sçai que vous n'êtes "point du trouble qui m'est survenu: si j'eusse voulu "croire ce qu'on m'en vouloit dire, vous ne fussiez plus "en vie; mais je vous ai toujours aimé: je me fie en "vous seul de ma femme et de ma fille, je vous les re-"commande. Ne vous fiez en N." (il est indubitable que cela

cela doit s'entendre de la Reine mere) "mais Dieu vous "gardera. La Reine Mere interrompit le Roi Charles, "disant: Monsieur, ne dites pas cela. —— Madame je "le dois dire, et est la vérité. Croyez moi, mon frere, "aimez moi, assistez à ma femme et à ma fille, et priez "Dieu pour moi. Adieu, mon frere, adieu."

Death of Charles the IXth.

Charles the IXth died, and Catherine had the title as well as the authority of Regent, which the new King Henry confirmed.—This Prince, on his arrival in France, gave a bad specimen of what his future reign was likely to produce. If he had really seen his own political interest he would have endeavoured to have kept the balance even between the two contending parties, that he might not be reduced to the necessity of being dependent on the successful one.—From such measures he would have had some hopes of putting an end to the civil wars, but he had not sufficient understanding to perceive his interest and take these wise precautions.—The league was formed in 1576, the imprudent Henry put himself at the head, and Catherine added to it her weight and influence.

Formation of the league.

Turning our eyes towards Portugal, Sebastian had perished by his own rashness in Africa, and his uncle the Cardinal Henry succeeded to the crown.—Bowed down with age, and enfeebled by infirmities, the new Monarch had no prospect of a long enjoyment of his throne, to which

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which Philip the IId of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, Ranucio the son of Alessandro Farnese, the Dutchess of Bragantia, and the Prior de Crato the natural son of Don Louis, were preparing to support their pretensions.—Catherine de' Medici added her name to the list of candidates, and to establish her right she referred to an old alliance between the antient royal family of Portugal and the House of Bologne.—Whilst her pretensions were not even plausible, they were scandalously insulting to the Cardinal on the throne, who was to be considered as well as his ancestors illegitimate, and without any legal title to the kingdom.—The States were assembled to deliberate on the settlement of the Succession, and though Catherine was not summoned, her ambassador had instructions to appear and support her claims.—Her chimerical title was refuted without difficulty, and rejected with contempt.—The Cardinal on the throne dying, the Portuguese in a tumultuous election made choice of the Prior de Crato, but Philip the Ist marched an army under the command of the Duke of Alba into the kingdom, and conquered it with great ease.—Don Antonio, the Prior de Crato, took refuge in France, where the Queen Mother received him more graciously than might have been expected.—She appeared even to renounce her own pretensions in favour of Antonio, and as the islands of the Azores had declared in his favour, she equipped at her own expence an auxiliary fleet, which Philip opposed with another naval armament. The hostile squadrons met near the

Azores,

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Azores, and the French were defeated within sight of the friends they came to succour.

Catherine de' Medici loses her political influence.

Catherine de' Medici, when her favourite son Henry the IIId took possession of the Crown of France, flattered herself she had reached the summit of her wishes, and had no doubt she should continue for the remainder of her life, what she had always been, the mistress of the kingdom; but she had the mortification to find herself baffled and disappointed.—Henry indeed never disgraced his mother, and she had always some little ascendancy over him, but that was not sufficient for Catherine de' Medici, who was not satisfied with a divided authority, and could not suffer or submit to a rival or an equal.—Henry's minions, Joyeuse and Epernon, insinuated themselves imperceptibly into his favour, and got by little and little the possession of the rudder which Catherine had been so jealous of retaining entirely in her own hands.—Enraged at this unexpected loss of her influence, she made a number of convulsive efforts to recover it, which were attended with the most fatal consequences, and plunged the kingdom into consummate distress and temporary ruin.

The new generation of the Guises pushed their ambitious views farther than their ancestors, and the pretended descendants of the Carlovingians had the insolence to aspire at ravishing the Crown from the real descendants of

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of the Capets.—Strange and extraordinary as it may seem, the mother of the last of the Valois, having lost her road in the mysterious and intricate maze of politics, concurred in the design, and lent them her assistance.—She wished to encourage indolent supineness in her son, and to tighten the bandage on his eyes to prevent his having any light.—She endeavoured to pacify his just resentment, interpreted favourably the obnoxious designs of the persons he suspected, and intercepted the intelligence meant to be conveyed to him by his faithful subjects, or the partisans of the league; who wished to measure back their steps and quit it.

Her flagitious conduct.

Of this strange conduct what could be the motives?—Perhaps Catherine imagined when once the two parties were seriously embroiled, both would be obliged to have recourse to her, and to fly to her for her mediation.—Perhaps also having lately lost her son the Duke of Alençon, despairing of a family from Henry the IIId, and hating with implacable malignity the young King of Navarre, who had no children, and lived in a state of divorce with her daughter Margaret, she formed the design of breaking through the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and altering the succession.—If her son died without children she might wish to place on the throne the eldest son of her youngest daughter, who was married to the Duke of Lorraine.—As the Guises were of that family she deluded herself with a sophism unworthy of her understanding,

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standing, and believed with a childish simplicity she might safely make use of these dangerous instruments for such a criminal end.—The two brothers were not, however, characters to be left with impunity at their liberty, or those docile and subaltern spirits to whom she might say, "You have my permission to go to this point—I forbid "you to go beyond it."—After the memorable event of the Barricades Catherine de' Medici continued a few days at Paris, to preserve for her son at least the appearance of authority over his rebellious city.—The substance of it was already ravished from him—the shadow was only left.—It seems this last outrage of the Guises had opened her eyes, and she perceived most sensibly and fatally, when it was too late, the rashness of her conduct.—Things had been carried much farther than she intended, and she found with extreme sorrow that the flame which she had imprudently kindled could only be extinguished by the ruin of what had been always dearest to her.—The faction retained its power—it did not trouble itself with any appeal to her—it did not accept her offer of mediation—and if the exclusion of the young King of Navarre became every day more probable, it was not her grandson of Lorraine but the Guises who were to reap the fruits of it.

Assassination of the Duke of Guise and his brother.

Without consulting, or giving the Queen Mother the slightest intimation of his design, the King, who had merely the name, took the violent resolution of putting the

the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his brother to death. —As soon however as the tragedy was over, he hastened to inform his mother of what had passed.—Catherine was more alarmed than irritated, and dissembling her apprehensions she asked the King "if he had foreseen the possible consequences of the measure he had taken, and "was prepared to meet them?"—On his answer that "he "had provided for every accident," she replied, "Tant "mieux, je prie Dieu que vous vous trouviez bien de ce "qui vient d'arriver."—But the crafty female saw in prophetic vision Mayenne, the Spaniard, the fulminating rage of Sixtus, and the knife of Clement!

Death of Catherine de' Medici.

A disorder to which she had been long subject, joined to chagrin and disappointment, conducted her to the tomb on the 5th of January 1589.—She had reached the age of seventy-one years, and, the people of Paris excepted, who believed her to have been an accomplice in the assassination of the two Princes of Lorraine, and protested with horrible imprecations they would drag her body to the common dunghil, or throw it into the Seine, if it was brought to Paris with an intention of burying it at St. Denis, not a single person seemed to be affected with her death, or expressed any extraordinary emotions of joy or of regret.—Many interesting events indeed soon followed, which engaged the attention of both her friends and enemies, and they lost every recollection or remembrance of her.—Such were the fates of the Empress Queen Judith,

Judith, Isabella of Bavaria, and of one of the Dutchesses of Angoulême, whose intrigues and crimes were the causes of such numerous misfortunes.

It may be perhaps asked if Henry the IIId sincerely regretted her?—His orders to take down the furniture in the Castle of Blois, where he then resided, and to paint the walls black, mixed with tears, are not conclusive arguments for his feelings. It proves alone that he had a taste for the luxury of mourning, and that his imagination was pleased with gloomy ideas.

Her character.

If the maxim of the Stoics is to be adopted, that the wicked are miserable reasoners, and wretched logicians, and that vice and iniquity are only an excess of folly, we must suppose Catherine de Medici's understanding to have been very limited, or rather that she was an idiot more deserving of pity and compassion (*a*).—This paradox however of the Porch, correct in one sense, differs too much from every common and received idea to be universally admitted, and this wicked woman must be acknowledged to have been mistress of a vast genius and a wonderful capacity.—If the goodness of her heart had equalled her intellectual talents, we should have seen her bust

(*a*) "Non est quod existimes verum esse, quod apud disertissimum virum Livium dicitur, vir ingenii magni magis quam boni. Non potest illud separari: aut et bonum erit aut nec magnum."

bust along with Elizabeth's in the Temple of Fame, and she would have been the glory of that sex which she disgraced.

During the thirty years she governed France, like the treacherous female of Archilochus, who held a pitcher of water in one hand and a fire-brand in the other: she created public dissensions, and appeased them as often as she pleased. Her remedies, however, were sometimes only perfidious palliatives, which in the end increased the fever, and aggravated the inflammation. Her ambition was of the most flagitious species—peaceable authority was beneath her notice—she had tranquillity in horror—storms and tempests were the first pleasures of her life—and if Providence had given her a world to govern, she would soon have reduced it to a chaos.

There is not probably a contrast more striking than the picture traced by a Florentine poet of the happiness of the French Monarchy under Francis the Ist (*b*), and its

(*b*) "Fuggasi lunge homai dal seggio antico,
L'Italico villan, trapasse l'Alpi,
Truove il Gallico sen . . . . . .
E se qui non havrà, come hebbe altrove,
Così tepido il Sol, si chiaro il Cielo, &c. &c.
Vedrâ i colli gentil si dolci et vaghi, &c. &c.
Vedrà il Gallico Mar soave e piano,
Vedrà il Padre Ocean superbo in vista
Calcar le rive, &c. &c. . . . . . .
Ma quel ch'assai più val; quì non vedranse

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its deplorable state, if not its total subversion, under Catherine's administration. CHAP. XI.

Notwithstanding Catherine's infernal resolution, attentive eyes have not failed to perceive sometimes a tremulous vibration in her conduct.—It was not uniform.—At some moments she boldly crowded all her sails, and stretched out to a vast distance on the ocean—at others she steered for land with equal and astonishing rapidity. —Her steps like those of the tigress, bathed in blood, were quick and sudden, and she moved with starts and bounds.—Blood she often spilt from passion and revenge, but oftener from the severity of her atrocious system, in which she considered cruelty to be necessary.—Undoubtedly she saw the blood stream from the executioner with unconcern and insensibility, but to suppose she found an amusement in it is to substitute a figure of Rhetoric for truth.—A character of this horrid kind is not indeed ideal, yet, for the honour of humanity it has been very rare, and only one execrable assassin has existed, the diaboli-cal

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I divisi voler', l'ingorde brame
Del cieco dominar, che spoglie altrui
Di virtù, di pietà, d'onore et fede;
Quì ripiena d'amor, di pace vera
Vedrà la gente, e'n charità congiunti
I più ricchi Signor, l'ignobil plebe
Viversi insieme, ritenendo ogniuno,
Senza oltraggio d'altrui le sue fortune."

Luigi Alamanni.

cal Rafiat, who asked his judges with a malignant grin, "if they were not ignorant of the pleasure of seeing the "convulsed eye of a dying person."

Baneful education of her children.

As Catherine's barbarity was founded on principle, and her perverted understanding approved of the ferocity of her heart, she did not forget to transmit, as far as she was able, the same impression to her children.—Nothing, perhaps, discovers more clearly the blackness of her soul than the education which she gave them.—Battles of animals of various kinds, in which they tore each other to pieces were their favourite recreations, and she attended in person with them at the private torture and public execution of criminals.—What the bloody amusement of her savage theatre had given them a taste for, the spectacles at the Gréve completely finished.—These abominable seeds fructified particularly with Charles the IXth. The lessons and examples that had been given him entirely depraved the energetic but equivocal disposition he had received from nature, and his education rendered him nearly as cruel and ferocious as his Mother.—Papire Masson relates that one of his greatest pleasures was to knock down pigs and asses, and that one of his courtiers, surprising him engaged sword in hand with his own mule, very gravely asked him "what had happened "between his Most Christian Majesty and his mule (*c*)?"

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(*c*) "Carolo irruenti in mulam Lansaci, inter aulicos gratiosi, quod tibi dissidium, inquit, cum mulo meo intercessit, Rex Christianissime?"

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It is difficult to conceive how Catherine could ever have desired to confide the education of her son the Duke of Alençon to the famous visionary Postel, which was the case, as he informs us in the dedication of one of his works to this Prince in 1575, an honour he refused from his knowledge of living in a Court. This absurd choice may appear less so to those who recollect that Postel was a very learned person, and that in the 16th century science was attended with so many imposing qualities as to render even the phantasies of the Learned respectable.

The inconstancy and levity of human nature does not admit of a whole life of absolute and continued vice or perfect virtue, and it is not to be believed that Catherine always pressed upon her family the worst instructions.—The letter, which she wrote to Charles the IXth when nearly of age, contains the soundest precepts and wisest regulations for his conduct. To give the whole of it in her own words might be objectionable from its length, but an extract of some passages respecting the young King's future mode of life, his daily occupations, and some observations on the customs of his predecessors may be useful and instructive.

"Monsieur mon fils —— rien ne vous servira tant "que d'aymer les choses réglées et ordonnées, et telle- "ment policées, que l'on connoisse les désordres qui ont "été

" été jusques icy par la minorité du Roi votre frère, qui
" empêchoit que l'on ne pouvoit faire ce que l'on desiroit.
" ——— Je voudrois que prissiés une heure certaine de
" vous lever, et pour contenter votre Noblesse, fayre
" comme faysoit le feu Roi votre père; car quand il pre-
" noit sa chemise, entroient tous les Princes, Seigneurs,
" Capitaines, Chevaliers de l'Ordre &c., il parloit à eux,
" et le voyoient, qui les contentoit beaucoup. Cela fait,
" s'en alloit à ses affaires, et tous sortoient hormis ceux
" qui étoient du Conseil et les quatre Secrétaires. Si fai-
" siés de même, cela les contenteroit fort, pour estre cho-
" se accoutumée de tout tems aux Rois vos père et
" grand-père; et après cela que donnassiés une heure ou
" deux à ouir les dépesches et affaires, ——— et ne pas-
" ser les dix heures pour aller à la Messe, comme on
" avoit accoutumé au Roi vostre père et grand-père, que
" tous les Princes et Seigneurs vous accompagnassent, et
" non comme je vous vois aller que n'avés que vos ar-
" chers: et au sortir de la messe, disnez, s'il est tard, ou
" sinon, promenez pour votre santé, et ne passez onze
" heures que ne disniez. Et après disner, pour le moins
" deux fois la sepmaine, donnez audience, qui est chose
" qui contente infiniment vos sujets, et après vous retirer
" ou venir chés moy, afin que l'on connoisse une façon
" de Cour. ——— Et ayant demeuré demy-heure ou
" une heure en public, vous retirer ou en vostre estude,
" ou en privé, où bon vous semblera: et sur les trois
" heures après-midy vous alliés vous promener à pied ou
" à

" à cheval, afin de vous montrer, contenter la Noblesse,
" et passer vostre tems avec cette jeunesse à quelque ex-
" ercice honneste. ——— Et après cela souper avec vo-
" tre famille, et l'aprés-souper deux fois la sepmaine te-
" nir la salle du bal; car j'ay ouy dire au Roi vostre
" grand-père, qu'il falloit deux jours de bal pour vivre en
" repos avec les François, et pour qu'ils aymassent leur
" Roy. ——— Or pour retourner à la police de la Cour
" du tems de vostre grand-père, il n'y eut eu homme si
" hardy d'oser dire dans sa Cour injure à un autre, car
" s'il eut esté ouy, il eut été mené au Prévost de l'Hostel.
" Les Capitaines des Gardes se promenoyent ordinaire-
" ment par les salles et dans la cour. Quand l'après-dis-
" née le Roy étoit retiré en sa chambre, chez la Reine ou
" chez les Dames, les archers se tenoyent ordinairement
" aux salles parmy les degrez et dans la cour, pour empê-
" cher que les pages et laquais ne jouassent, et tinssent
" les berlans, qu'ils tiennent ordinairement dans le Chas-
" teau où vous estes logé, avec blasphêmes et juremens,
" chose exécrable. ——— Tous les soirs depuis que la
" nuit venoit, le Grand-Maistre avoit commandé au mais-
" tre d'hostel de faire allumer des flambeaux par toutes
" les salles et passages, et aux quatre coins de la cour, et
" sur les dégrés des falots. Et jamais la porte du Chas-
" teau n'estoit ouverte que le Roy ne fust éveillé, et n'y
" entroit ne sortoit personne quel qu'il fust: comme aus-
" si au soir, dès que le Roy estoit couché, on fermoit les
" portes, et mettoit-on les clefs sous le chevet de son lit.
——— Quand

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" —— Quand on alloit à la viande, le maistre d'hostel " y alloit en personne, et le pannetier, et après eux c'es- " toyent enfans d'honneur et pages, sans valetaille, ne " autre que l'écuyer de cuisine. Et cela estoit plus hono- " rable et plus seur aussi. —— Je vous diray que du " tems du Roy Louis XII, qu'il avoit une façon, que je " désirerois infiniment que vous voulussiez prendre, pour " vous oster toutes importunités et presses de la Cour, " et pour faire connoistre à tous, qu'il n'y a que vous qui " donne les biens et honneurs ; vous en serez mieux ser- " vy et avec plus de faveur. C'est qu'il avoit ordinaire- " ment en sa poche le nom de tous ceux qui avoyent " charge de luy, fusse prés ou loin, grands ou petits, " somme de toutes qualités. Comme aussi il avoit un " autre rôle, où estoient escrits tous les offices, bénéfi- " ces, et autres choses qu'il pouvoit donner, et avoit fait " commandement à un ou denx des principaux Officiers " de chaque Province, que quelque chose qui vasquast " ou avint de confiscations, aubaines, amendes et autres " choses pareilles, que nul ne fust averty, que premiére- " ment ceux, à qui il en avoyt donné la charge, ne l'en " avertissent, par lettres expresses, qui ne tombassent ès " mains des Secrétaires ne autres que luy-mesme : et lors " il prenoit son rôle, et regardoit selon la valeur qu'il " voyoit par iceluy, ou qu'on lui demandoit, et selon le " rôle qu'il en avoit en sa poche, il le donnoit à celui à " qui bon lui sembloit, et lui en faisoit faire la dépesche " luymême ; et sans qu'il en sçust rien, il l'envoyoit à ce-

" luy

"luy à qui il le donnoit. Et si de fortune quelqu'un es-
"tant averty après luy venoit demander, il le refusoit;
"car jamais à ceux qui demandoient il ne donnoit, afin
"de leur oster la façon de l'importuner. Et ceux qui le
"servoient sans laisser leurs charges, sans le venir pres-
"ser à la Cour, et dépendre plus que le don ne vaut bi-
"en souvent, il les récompensoit des services qu'ils lui
"faisoient. Aussi estoit le mieux servy Roy, à ce que
"j'ay ouy dire, qui fust jamais; car ils ne reconnoyssoy-
"ent rien que luy, et ne faisoit-on la cour à personne,
"estant le plus aymé qui fust jamais: et prye à Dieu
"qu'en fassiez de même, car tant qu'en ferez autrement,
"point l'on ne tiendra le don de vous, car j'en ay ouy par-
"ler ou je suis. —— Monsieur mon fils vous tien-
"drez la franchise dequoy je le vous envoye, et le bon
"chemin; et ne trouverez mauvais que je l'aye fait escri-
"re, car c'est afin que le puissiez mieux lire, et comment
"vos prédécesseurs faisoyent."

Liberality, a virtue which Catherine de' Medici inherited from her ancestors, degenerated in her hands.—Prodigal even to insanity, and at the same time without a thought of the justice due to her creditors, she died overwhelmed with debts, and left her affairs in a confusion more inexcusable as no other Queen of France had ever been in the receipt of half her revenue.—Exclusive of her rich dower, she enjoyed a great part of the Medici property, and also the opulent successions of the House of

of Boulogne, that consisted of immense domains in almost every province of the kingdom.—Foreign or chimerical crowns (*a*), which from her insatiable avarice and pride she was perpetually soliciting for herself and her children, were the great objects of her foolish expences, and these ruinous intrigues were the principal gulph which swallowed up her treasure.

Such is the malignity of man, and such the impossibility of satisfying the world, that Kings and Ministers, the principal characters in the great drama of life, may both reasonably console themselves if they do not always meet with public applause, and despise the hisses or the censures which they do not merit.—There is not however a more dangerous or destructive maxim, in its full extent, than Machiavel's, "that a wise Prince ought to be above "the public opinion."—Catherine de' Medici, faithful to this abominable doctrine, "faisoit acheter," to make use of Brantome's words, "et lisoit les belles invectives qui "se faisoient contre elle, dont elle se moquoit, et se rioit, "sans s'altèrer autrement, apellant les auteurs des bavards "et des donneurs de billevesées; ainsi usoit-elle de ce "mot (*b*)."

Was

(*a*) The Crowns of Portugal, England, and Poland, with the sovereignty of Algiers, and the Low Countries.

(*b*) *Œuvres de Brantome, tom.* 2. 293.

Was it indeed possible she could be sensible to any criticisms or severe observations on her conduct, when wholly callous to every conscientious feeling?—Her son Charles the IXth, who had profited so much from the lessons he had learned in her execrable school, died at least in all the horrors of distraction and remorse. "Ah "ma bonne! ah ma mie!" cried the dying Monarch, interrupted with sobs, to his attendant, in agonies at his bedside, "Ah ma mie, que de sang et que de meurtres! "ah que j'ai suivi de méchans conseils! O mon Dieu "pardonne moi, et me fai miséricorde s'il te plait; je ne "sai où j'en suis, tant mes crimes me rendent perplex et "agité: que deviendra tout ceci? Que ferai-je? je suis "perdu, je le vois bien (*c*)."—Such was the miserable end of this unfortunate Prince.

Charles the IXth's horrors before his death.

> "Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?
> Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque mater;"

but not a single individual has ever mentioned Catherine de' Medici's penitence.—A few slight apprehensions, some transitory fears might indeed occasionally alarm her, yet they do not amount to repentance or to remorse.—Du Plessis-Mornay relates he had been told by Henry the IVth that he was with Catherine de' Medici at Vespers, which they went through verse by verse, at the very hour when

(*c*) *Cayet. Chronologie Novenaire.*

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when the first Cardinal de Lorraine died, and that Catherine, lifting up her hand, cried out she saw the Cardinal pale and frightful, who pointed to her and threatened her; and that on her screaming out, her ladies of honour came into the room, and the phantom disappeared.

The wicked, and in particular wicked women, are generally timid as well as superstitious.—Catherine, whose soul was ferociously cruel, was still a slave to religious weakness. She believed in astrology, and Mars and Saturn made her tremble.—The comet which appeared towards the end of the year 1577 threw her into consternation, though she endeavoured to conceal her fears (*d*).—As her fright became notorious, and her death was believed to be the most fortunate event that could arrive to France, a poet of the times expressed the general opinion in a Latin Epigram:

"Spargeret audaces cum tristis in æthere crines,
Venturique daret signa Cometa mali,
Ecce suæ Regina timens malè conscia vitæ,
Credidit invisum poscere fata caput.
Quid Regina times? namque hic mala siqua minatur,
Longa timenda tua est, non tibi vita brevis (*e*)."

Catherine

(*d*) *Journal de Henry III.*

(*e*) Yet Giovanni Rondinelli, the Florentine, pronounced a funeral oration in the Church of San Lorenzo, in honour of Catherine de' Medici, where he glorified her as a Saint. "Doverei, immortal Donna, chiederti perdono del mio basso e umilis-

Catherine de' Medici is perhaps excusable for her belief in astrology and the influence of the stars and heavenly bodies, for the error was at least the error of the age.—For her attachment to magic she is indefensible.—All the persons of character in the sixteenth century, without being persuaded of the folly of the science, held its practice in abomination.—Catherine not only plunged deeply into it, but its rites and incantations were some of her favourite amusements, and she suffered herself to be duped by her countryman Cosmo Ruggieri, and other similar impostors.—The French, a fickle and volatile people, like the cameleon adopted any colour that pleased their fancy; and this infamous study became, from Catherine's example, so much the fashion that Séchelles (*f*), a priest, burned at the Gréve for sorcery, accused above a thousand persons of this pretended crime—some writers even augment the number.

Perhaps the traditions which have been so widely spread on the subject of the superstitious follies of Catherine de' Medici may have increased these fabulous stories.—It has been

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simo ragionare, ma so, che fatta beata, poco di queste mie parole cura ti prendi; solo in questa vece ti pregherò, che rivolgendo gli occhi a questa devotissima patria tua, siccome sempre le fosti, le vogli essere ajutatrice, e vogli verso di lei accrescere la tua pietà: perchè se il tuo umilissimo e mortal prego le potette giovare cotanto, mentre in terra dimorasti, ripiena di mille angosce, che ora le potrà fare il divino e altissimo tuo ajuto, che felice all' eterna salute siedi vicina?"

(*f*) Monsr. de Menardaye, another priest, published in 1749 a most ridiculous History of Magic, and endeavoured to prove its existence even in his own times.

been said, though it cannot be positively affirmed, that she wore on her breast part of a child's skin whose throat had been cut, or a piece of vellum with figures and characters in different colours, and that she firmly believed it to be a preservative against any attack upon her person. —The reproach may be also without foundation respecting another Talisman or mysterious medal that she wore, on which a supposed treaty with the Devil was engraved, and which is still existing. The Jesuit Harduin, Ménétrier, and some other writers, have hazarded explications on the subject, in which they have only surpassed each other in absurdity (*g*).—The existence of the medal is beyond dispute, and the most natural construction of it is, that it represents Catherine consulting the magic mirror on the fortune of her children, and the extent of their several reigns.—Whatever may be the opinion, there can be no doubt of Catherine's passion for enchantments, and that one of her greatest pleasures was to hold a conference with the Prince of Darkness.—Almost all the writers on the nocturnal assemblies of his imps, have only given us hearsay evidence, but the famous artist Benvenuto Cellini (*h*) has related to us what he had himself seen, or fancied that he had seen.

As

(*g*) The whole history of this celebrated Medal, with an abstract of the various dissertations and opinions on the subject, may be found in the Dictionaire Historique par Prosper Marchand, tom. 1. 164—173. fol. La Haye, 1758.

(*h*) " In questo tempo, siccome fanno i giovani, m'ero inamorato d'una fanciulla Siciliana, la quale era bellissima. La madre, accortasi di tal cosa, una notte segre-

" As young men can never secure their hearts against " the attacks of love, but sooner or later are subdued by " that

tamente si partì di Roma colla fanciulla, ed andossene con Dio. Io feci pazzie inestimabili per ritrovar quella. Sarebbono troppo lunghe a dir tal cose per l'appunto; basta solo ch'io stetti in procinto o d'impazzare o di morire. In capo di due mesi, mi accadde per diverse cette stravaganze, che io presi amicizia con un certo Prete Siciliano, il quale era di elevatissimo ingegno, e aveva assai buone lettere latine e greche; venuto una volta in un proposito di un ragionamento, nel quale s'intervenne a parlare dell'arte della Negromanzia; alla qual cosa, grandemente desideroso di saperla, io dissi: grandissima voglia io ho avuto in tutto il tempo della vita mia, di vedere o sentire qualche cosa di quest' arte. Alle quali parole il Prete aggiunse; di forte animo e sicuro bisogna che sia quell'uomo, che si mette a tale impresa. Io risposi, che della fortezza e della sicurtà dell'animo me ne avanzerebbe, purchè io trovassi modo a far tal cosa. Allora rispose il Prete: se di codesto ti basta la vista, di tutto il resto te ne satollerò. Così fummo d'accordo di dar principio a tale impresa. Il detto Prete una sera frà l'altre si messe in ordine, e mi disse, che io trovassi un compagnon, insino a due; io chiamai Vincenzio Romoli mio amicissimo; ed egli menò seco un Pistolese, il quale attendeva anch'egli alla Negromanzia. Andatticene al Culiseo, quivi paratosi il Prete a uso di Negromante, si mise a disegnare i circoli in terra, colle più belle cerimonie che immaginar si possa al mondo, e ci aveva fatto portare zaffetica, profumi preziosi, e fuoco, ancora profumi cattivi. Come fù in ordine, fece la porta al circolo; e presoci per mano, a quel altro suo compagno negromante ordinò, che buttasse i profumi secondo il bisogno nel fuoco, e agli altri dette la cura del fuoco e de' profumi, e poi messe mano a gli scongiuri. Durò questa cosa più d'un ora e mezzo; comparse parecchi legioni di diavoli, di modo che il Culiseo era tutto pieno. Io che attendeva a profumi preziosi, quando il Prete conobbe esservi tanta quantità, si volse a me, e disse: Benvenuto, dimanda loro qualche cosa. Io dissi, che facessino, ch'io fussi colla mia Angelica Siciliana. Per quella notte noi non avemmo risposta nessuna: ma io ebbe bene grandissima satisfazione di quello che io desideravo. Di tal cosa disse il Negromante, che bisognava, che noi ci andassino un altra volta: e che io sarei satisfatto di tutto quello che io dim andavo; ma che vi voleva, che io menassi meco un fanciulletto vergine. Presi un mio fattorino, il quale era di dedici anni in circa, e meco di nuovo chiamoci quel detto Vincenzio Romoli, e per esser nostro domestico compagno un certo Agnolino Gaddi, ancora menai lui a questa faccenda. Arrivati di nuovo al luogo deputato, fatto il Negromante le sue medesime preparazioni, con quel medesimo e più ancora maraviglioso ordine, ce messe nel circolo, qual di nuovo aveva fatto con più

"that all-conquering power, my affections were captivated "at that time, by a Sicilian girl of extraordinary beauty, "and

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mirabil arte, et più mirabili cerimonie; di poi a quel mio Vincenzio diede la cura de profumi e del fuoco, insieme la prese il detto Agnolino Gaddi: dipoi a me pose in mano il pintaculo, il qual mi disse, ch'io lo voltassi secondo i luoghi dove e' mi accennava, e sotto il pintaculo tenevo quel mio fanciullino fattore. Cominciato il Negromante a fare quelle terribilissime invocazzioni, chiamato per nome una gran quantità di quei Demoni capi di quelle legioni, e a quegli domandava, per la virtù e potenza di Dio increato, vivente, e eterno, in voci Ebree, parte ancora assai Greche e Latine; in modo che in breve spazio si riempiè tutto il Culiseo, l'un cento più di quello che avevano fatto la prima volta. Vincenzio Romoli attendeva a far fuoco, insieme con quel Agnolino detto, e molta quantità di profumi preziosi. Io per consiglio del Negromante, di nuovo dimandai di poter essere con Angelica. Voltosi a me il Negromante, disse: senti ch'egli hanno detto che in ispazio d'un mese tu sarai dove lei; e di nuovo mi aggiunse, che mi pregava, ch'io gli tenessi il fermo, perchè le legioni erano più l'un mille di quello, ch'egli aveva domandato, e ch'ell'erano le più pericolose; & poi ch'egli avevano stabilito quello che io gli aveva domandato, bisognava accarezzargli, e pazientemente licenziargli. Dall'altra banda il fanciullo, che era sotto il pintaculo, ispaventatissimo diceva, che in quel luogo vi era un milione d'uomini bravissimi, i quali tutti ci minacciavano: di più disse, ch'egli era apparso quattro smisurati giganti, i quali erano armati, e facevano segno di voler entrare da noi. In questo che il Negromante, che tremava di paura, attendeva con dolce soave modo, il meglio che poteva, a licenziargli; Vincenzio Romoli, che tremava a verga a verga, attendeva a profumi. Io che aveva tanto paura, quanto e' ne avevano, m'ingegnavo di mostrarlo manco; e a tutti dava maravigliosissimamente animo: ma certo io mi ero fatto morto per la paura che io vedevo nel Negromante. Il fanciullo s'era fitto il capo trà le ginocchia, dicendo: io voglio morire a questo modo, che morti siamo. Di nuovo dissi al fanciullo; queste creature son tutte sotto di noi, e ciò che tu vedi, si è fumo e ombra; sicchè alza gli occhi. Alzato ch'egli ebbe gli occhi, di nuovo disse: tutto il Culiseo arde, e il fuoco viene adosso a noi. Di nuovo messosi le mani al viso, disse, chè era morto, e chè non voleva più vedere. Il Negromante mi si raccommandò, pregandomo chè io gli tenessi il fermo, e chè io facessi fare profumi di zaffetica; così voltomi a Vincenzio Romoli, dissi che presto profumasse di zaffetica. Mentre chè io così diceva, guardando Agnolino Gaddi, il quale si era tanto spaventato, chè la luce degli occhi aveva fuora del punto, ed era più che mezzo morto; al quale io dissi: Agnolo, in questi luoghi non bisogna aver paura, ma bisogna darsi da fare, e ajutarsi; sicchè mattete sù presto di quella zaffetica. Il detto Agnolo, in quello che si volse muovere, fece una strombazzata

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" and she seemed to repay my passion with an equal " ardour. Her mother perceived it, and was apprehen-

" sive

di correggе, con tanta abondanza di merda, laquale potette molto più che la zaffetica: il fanciullo a quel romore e a quel gran puzzo alzato un poco il viso, sentendomi ridere alquanto; assicurato un poco la paura, disse, che sene cominciavano andare a furia. Così soprastemmo infinattanto, che cominciò a sonare i mattutini. Di nuovo ci disse il fanciullo, che ce n'era restati pochi, e discosto. Fatto che ebbe il Negromante tutto il resto delle sue cerimonie, spogliatosi, e riposto un gran fardello de libri ch'egli aveva portati; tutti d'accordo seco uscimmo dal circolo, ficcandoci l'uno sotto l'altro, massimo il fanciullo, che si era messo in mezzo, ed aveva preso il Negromante per la vesta, e me per la cappa; e continuamente, inmentre chè noi andavamo inverso le case nostre, e' ci diceva, chè dua di quegli, che egli aveva visto nel Culiseo, ci andavano saltabeccando innanzi, or correndo sù per li tetti, e ora per terra. Il Negromante diceva chè di tante volte, quanto egli era entrato ne' circoli, non mai gli era intervenuto una così gran cosa, e mi persuadeva, ch'io fussi contento di voler esser seco a consacrare un libro, dal quale noi terremmo infinita richezza; perchè noi domanderemmo a' Demoni che c'insegnassino de' tesori, de quali n'è piena la terra, e a quel modo noi diventeremmo ricchissimi: e che queste cose di amore si erano vanità e pazzie, le quali non rilevano nulla. Io gli dissi, che molto volontieri farei una tal cosa, se io avessi le lettere latine: pur egli mi persuadeva, dicendomi, che le lettere latine mi servivano a nulla; e che se egli avesse voluto, trovava di molti con buone lettere latice ma che non aveva mai trovato nessuno di un saldo animo, come ero io." *Vita di Benv. Cellini.*

If this curious text wants a commentary, one may be found in the curious Dialogue of the Baron de Fœneste with the St. D'Enay.

" Or ye bous en ai trop dit pour bous pouboir rien cèler: sachez que celle que ye boulois espouser, me mit à telle rage, que je boulus parler au diavle: un Italien m'en proumit l'expériment, pourbu que ye n'ensse poent de pur: pur, dis-ye, si lou pont levedis l'enfer estoit vessé, ou si y'entreprenois de le pétarder, ye bous irai abec un nerf de vuf faire trouter la quenaille d'enfer à mon service: il fallut donc benir à la preube: la porte Sant Marceault estoit ouberte toute nuict, pourceque c'estoit l'année de la peste; nous sourtismes donc pour benir dans une petite plenne qui est à bat de Bissextre, où nous arribons sur les onze hures; mon home me redemande, si y'abois poent pur? Ventre de Sant Christoli. di-ye, ce sont les diavles qui ch . . . de pur de me boir, et te font demander cela: ô vien, il se sépare de moi, et se ba pourmener près d'une hure, et puis me bint prendre par la main pour me mener dans un

"sive of the consequences. I had indeed formed a design to run away with the girl to Florence, and to stay there a year with her unknown to her mother. The latter being apprized of my intention quitted Rome one night with her daughter, and having taken the road to Naples, gave out that she was going to Civita Vecchia, but went to Ostia. I followed them to Civita Vecchia, and committed innumerable extravagancies in search of my mistress. It would be tedious to give a circumstantial account of all these follies; let it suffice to say, that I was upon the point of losing my senses or dying of grief. After two months the girl wrote me "word,

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cercle: il aboit un coudre blanc en men abec un petit fusil, il allume de l'encens, et puch ayant dit, Adeste Spiritus, et quauques moutets, il me fait tourner bers l'Ourient: n'ayant rien fait de ce costé, il me tourne au midi, où il commença par, Et ecce ego totus vester: et n'ayant encore rien fait de ce costé, il me dit, ce sont les Septentrionnaux à qui ceci appartient: nous faisons demi-tour, et comme il commençoit Agla Varcan, ye boi come sourtir de terre un home aussi grand que nous dus l'un sur l'autre, boussu debant et derrière; de bous dire son bisage, pou cap Sant Mamoulin, il me prend si grande frayur, regardez comme mes chebux en dressent encores; ye me mets à hutte plus biste que lou bent, ye tumvai dans des espines et devout: coursant donc sans regarder ye me précipite dans une caberne sur quauque chause qui n'estet poent trop dur, si vien que ye ne me rompis rien: à un demi cler de lune ye m'abise que y'estois dans lou charnier des pestiferez; lors ye fis un vrabe trait pour sourtir, c'est que ye fis eschelle de dix ou douze corps, et gagne lou lougis sans me banter de rien, horsmis au Curé à qui ye fis dire une messe de St. Roch; il me bouloit faire seigner de pur de la peste; mais l'autre pur douminait. E vien ordonnas à qui dessus? (Avez vous quelque chose à dire à cela?)

L'autre interlocuteur répond, "je dis qu'il y avait quelque fosse ou petite muraille à demi ruinée, derrière laquelle étoit couché votre Démon, et qui eut loisir de prendre ses échasses, cependant que l'enchanteur vous tenait la veue devers le midi.

"Ah, dit Fœneste, il aboit des yamves vien gresles, bous me faytes penser, ye boudrois tenir mes douze pistoles que y'abois consinêes auparabant."

"word, that she was in Sicily, extremely dejected and "unhappy. At that time I indulged myself in pleasures "of all sorts, and had engaged in another amour to can-"cel the memory of my Sicilian mistress. It came to "pass, that through a variety of odd accidents, I made "acquaintance with a Sicilian priest, who was a man of "genius, and well versed in the Latin and Greek Authors. "Happening one day to have some conversation with "him, when the subject turned upon the art of necroman-"cy, I, who had a great desire to know something of the "matter, told him, that I had all my life a curiosity to be "acquainted with the mysteries of this art. The priest "made answer, that the man must be of a resolute and "steady temper who enters upon that study. I replied, "that I had fortitude and resolution enough to desire to "be initiated in it. The priest subjoined, if you think "you have the heart to venture, I will give you all the "satisfaction you can desire. Thus we agreed to enter "upon a plan of necromancy. The priest one evening "began to prepare to satisfy me, and bid me look out for "a companion or two: I invited one Vincenzio Romoli, "who was my intimate acquaintance; he brought with "him a native of Pistoia, that cultivated necromancy "himself. We repaired to the Colosseo, and the priest, "according to the custom of conjurers, began to draw "circles upon the ground with the most awful ceremo-"nies imaginable; he likewise brought thither all sorts of "precious perfumes, and fire, with some compositions

"also

" also which diffused noisome and bad odours. As soon " as he was in readiness, he made an opening to the circle, and having taken us by the hand, ordered the other " necromancer his partner, to throw the perfumes into " the fire at a proper time, intrusting the care of the fire " and the perfumes to the rest; and then he began his " incantations. This ceremony lasted above an hour and " a half, when there appeared several legions of devils, " insomuch that the amphitheatre was quite filled with " them. I was busy about the perfumes, when the priest, " who knew there was a sufficient number of infernal spirits, turned about to me, and said, Benvenuto, ask them " some favour. I answered, let them bring me into the " company of my Sicilian mistress Angelica. That night " we obtained no answer of any sort; but I had received " great satisfaction in having my curiosity so far indulged. " The conjurer told me, it was requisite we should go a " second time, assuring me, that I should be satisfied in " whatever I asked, but that I should bring with me a " youth that had never known woman. I took with me " my apprentice, who was about twelve years of age, together with the same Vincenzio Romoli, who had been " my companion the first time, and one Agnolino Gaddi, " an intimate acquaintance, whom I likewise prevailed on " to assist at the ceremony. When we came to the place " appointed, the priest having made his preparations as " before, with the same and even with more striking ceremonies, placed us within the circle, which he had

" likewise

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"likewise drawn with a more wonderful art, and in a "more solemn manner than at our former meeting. "Thus having committed the care of the perfumes and "the fire to my friend Vincenzio, who was assisted by "Agnolino Gaddi, he put into my hand a pentagonum, "and bid me turn it towards the places that he should di- "rect me; and under the pentagonum I held my appren- "tice. The necromancer having begun to make his tre- "mendous invocations, called by their names a multitude "of Demons, who were the leaders of the several legions, "and questioned them by the virtue and power of the "eternal uncreated God, who lives for ever, in the He- "brew language as likewise in Latin and Greek; inso- "much, that the amphitheatre was almost in an instant "filled with demons a hundred times more numerous "than at the former conjuration. Vincenzio Romoli was "busied in making a fire with the assistance of Agnolino, "and burning a great quantity of precious perfumes. I, "by the direction of the necromancer, again desired to "be in the company of my Angelica. The former there- "upon turning to me said; You are to know, they have "declared that in the space of a month you shall be in "her company: he then requested me to stand resolutely "by him, because the legions were now above a thousand "more in number than he had designed; and besides, "these were the most dangerous, so that after they had "answered my question, it behoved him to be civil to "them, and dismiss them quietly. At the same time,

"the

"the boy under the pentagonum, was in a terrible fright, "saying, that there were in that place a million of stout "men, who threatened to destroy us; that moreover four "giants appeared of an enormous stature, who were "armed cap-a-pee, and endeavoured to break into our "circle.. During this time, whilst the necromancer, "trembling with fear, endeavoured, by mild and gentle "methods, to dismiss them the best he could; Vincenzio "Romoli, who quivered like an aspen-leaf, took care of "his perfumes. Though I was as much afraid as any of "them, I did my utmost to conceal the terror I felt; so "that I greatly contributed to inspire the rest with reso-"lution; but the truth is, I gave myself over for a dead "man, seeing the horrid fright the necromancer was in. "The boy had placed his head between his knees, and "said, in this attitude will I die; we shall all surely pe-"rish. I told him, that all those demons were under us, "and what he saw was smoke and shadow; so bid him "hold up his head and take courage. No sooner did he "look up, but he cried out, The whole amphitheatre is "burning, and the fire is just falling upon us; so cover-"ing his eyes with his hands, he again exclaimed, that "destruction was inevitable, and he desired to see no "more. The necromancer intreated me to have a good "heart, and take care to burn proper perfumes; upon "which I turned to Romoli, and bid him burn all the "most precious perfumes he had. At the same time I "cast my eye upon Agnolino Gaddi, who was terrified

"to

“ to such a degree, that he could scarce distinguish ob-
“ jects, and seemed to be half dead. Seeing him in this
“ condition, I said, Agnolo, upon these occasions a man
“ should not yield to fear, but should stir about and give
“ his assistance; so come directly, and put on some more
“ of these perfumes. -
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“ - - - - - - - - - - - - . In this condition we staid till the
“ bell rang for morning prayer. The boy again told us,
“ that there remained but few devils, and these were at a
“ great distance. When the conjuror had performed the
“ rest of his ceremonies, he stripped off his gown, and
“ took up a wallet full of books which he had brought
“ with him. We all went out of the circle together,
“ sticking as close to one another as we possibly could;
“ especially the boy, who had placed himself in the mid-
“ dle, holding the necromancer by the coat, and me by
“ the cloak. As we were going to our houses in the
“ quarter of Banchi, the boy told us that two of the de-
“ mons whom we had seen at the amphitheatre, went on
“ before us leaping and skipping, sometimes running upon
“ the roofs of the houses, and sometimes upon the ground.
“ The priest declared, that as often as he had entered

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"magic circles, nothing so extraordinary had ever happened to him. As we went along he would fain persuade me to assist with him at consecrating a book, from which he said we should derive immense riches; we should then ask the demons to discover to us the various treasures with which the earth abounds, which would raise us to opulence and power; but that those love affairs were mere follies, from whence no good could be expected. I made answer, That I would readily accept his proposal if I understood Latin; he redoubled his persuasions, assuring me, that the knowledge of the Latin language was by no means material: he added, that he could have found Latin scholars enough, if he had thought it worth while to look out for them, but that he could never have met with a partner of a resolution and intrepidity equal to mine, and that I should by all means follow his advice (*a*)."

Some writers have applied the observation of Tacitus on the Mother of Caligula to Catherine de' Medici. "Virilibus curis fœminarum vitia exuerat," and remarked her masculine pursuits had eradicated the weaknesses of her sex.—The President De Thou is of this opinion, but other writers have thought very differently, and believed

"Quoique SCYTHE et BARBARE elle a pourtant AIME."

She

(*a*) *Nugent's Translation of the Life of Benv. Cellini, vol.* 1. 252—259.

She never pardoned the Constable Montmorenci for having once indiscreetly observed to the King "that of "all his children only his natural daughter resembled "him."—She demolished indeed the Palace de Tournelles, where Henry the IId had received his fatal wound; she wore mourning the rest of her life; she erected a splendid mausoleum to his memory; fifteen years after his death she assassinated or, which is the same thing, executed unjustly the innocent Montgomeri, by whose lance Henry had unfortunately fallen; and she took for her device burning coals with the words "Ardorem ex- "tinctâ testantur vivere flammâ."—Yet these external demonstrations of grief were too pompous perhaps to be sincere; and if her griefs were real, or she felt the affliction she pretended, she has been strongly suspected of receiving consolation within the arms of some later favourites.

Troïlus de Mesgouez a gentleman of Brittany, and Lignerolles, on whom Charles the IXth bestowed several strokes of his poignard, were both spoken of as her galants, but her intrigues have certainly been exaggerated.—A libel of the day mentions that the Chevalier de Bataresse had the audacity to exhibit a sarcastic picture of Catherine with no less than FOURTEEN of her SECRET FRIENDS, whose likenesses were extremely well preserved, and that Jacques Davy afterwards Cardinal du Perron was the principal figure of the piece.—Catherine's

 adventure,

adventure, however, with Francis de Vendôme, Vidam of Chartres, was the most notorious. The winding up of the amour was perfectly in her style, her passion was stained with the native blackness of her mind and ended very tragically.—In a fit of satiated love or jealous resentment she sent her hapless paramour to the Bastille, and he died soon afterwards with every appearance of being poisoned.—In a similar moment of amorous resentment Tisiphone's galant the shepherd Cythéron was strangled according to the fable, by a serpent rising out of that Fury's head.

Catherine de' Medici's heart was not formed for friendship more than love. When she flattered a person with any ostensible mark of regard, it was an indication that she considered him as a fool, or had laid some plan to ruin him. Whilst her Court was the most brilliant it was the most corrupted that had been ever known. Scandal was gentility, vice was duty, perfidy politeness, and assassination pleasantry.—Such debauchery had never before reigned so publicly, the six mortal sins marched in open triumph, and the Porters of the Louvre shut their doors both against hypocrisy and virtue.—Yet old Brantome exults in the recollection of his juvenile days, and gives a magnificent elogium of this Court.—

" Pour fin sa compagnie et sa cour estoyt un vrai Para-
" dis de ce monde, et l'école de toute honnêteté et vertu,
" et

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" et l'ornement de France; bref telle que quand elle a " été morte, on a dit par vive voix de tous, que la cour " n'estoyt plus la cour, et que jamais plus il n'y auroit en " France une Reine-Mère. J'ai ouy conter, que notre " Roy d'aujourd'huy quelque dix-huit mois après qu'il " se vit un peu avant dans la fortune, et espérance d'es-" tre un peu Roy assez universel, se mit à discourir avec " feu Mr. le Maréchal de Biron, des desseins et progrès " qu'il faisoyt pour un jour faire sa cour plantureuse, bel-" le, et du tout ressemblable à celle que nostre dict Rei-" ne entretenoit; Mr. le Maréchal lui répondit; il n'est " pas en votre puissance, ni de Roi qui viendra jamais, " si ce n'est que vous fissiez tant avec Dieu, qu'il vous fist " ressusciter la Reine Mère, pour la ramener telle. Mais " ce n'estoit pas là le compte de nostre bon Roy. Que " malheureux fust le jour que cette Reine mourut, &c. " &c (*b*)."

It is not astonishing to find such a slave of voluptuousness as Brantome regretting the loss of the delights of this corrupted Court, and the licentious entertainments that Catherine gave, where her women of honour with their floating hair wreathed with flowers waited at her tables and danced half naked.—Their most beautiful daughters and female friends were intrusted by the first nobility of the kingdom to her care, and they were without scru-
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(*b*) Œuvres de Brantome, tom. 2. 297—311.

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ple or decency sacrificed to her ambitious views.—By these nefarious means she kept the feeble Antony King of Navarre in perpetual bondage, and sometimes restrained the nobler energy of the Prince de Condé.—The adventure of Mademoiselle de Limeuil was notorious, and became the subject of a Latin poem in the Journal of the day (*c*).—Mademoiselle de Rieux, another Maid of Honour to Catherine and the favourite of the Duke d'Anjou, and beautiful as the Loves, was also a character of distinguished

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(*c*) "Puella illa nobilis
Quæ erat tam amabilis,
Commisit adulterium
Et nuper fecit filium,
Sed dicunt Matrem Reginam,
Illi fuisse Lucinam,
Et quod hoc pateretur
Ut Principem lucraretur.
Contra hanc tamen Regina
Se ostendit tantum plena
Cholerâ, ac si nescisset
Hoc quod puella fecisset,
Mittens in Monasterium
Quærere refrigerium;
Sed certè pro tam levi re
Sic non debebat tractare.
Aliis non fit taliter
Quæ faciunt similiter," &c.

Brantome says the Prince of Condé's libertinism occasioned the following sonnet:

"Ce petit homme tant joly,
Toujours cause, et toujours rit
Et toujours baise sa mignonne
Dieu garde de mal le petit homme."

Œuvres de Brantome, tom. 6. 332.

tinguished notoriety (*d*). "C'est elle," says Brantome, "qui tua virilement de sa propre main Antinotti Florentin, qu'elle avait épousé par amourettes, et qu'elle surprit couché avec une autre."

It was likewise in his conferences with Catherine de' Medici that the galant Béarnois the young King of Navarre was successively captivated by Mademoiselles d'Agelle and de Tosseuse.—In another interview Catherine was less fortunate, or had not so well spread her snares.—Asking the Prince, if he had a wish for any thing, or what he liked, he looked round the circle of her females that she had brought for his seduction, and coldly replied, there was nothing to his taste—"Il n'y a rien là que je veuille, Madame."—Péréfixe has preserv-

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(*d*) "Renée de Rieux, commonly called Mademoiselle de Chateauneuf, was a beauty of the most engaging kind. She was of the ancient family of Rieux in Bretagne, and had been early taken into the Household, and placed near the person of Catherine of Medicis, as a Maid of Honour to that Queen. She possessed an elegance of form and manner peculiar to herself, and long after her retreat from Court, it was thought a very high compliment to a young person to say "Qu'elle avoit de l'air de Mademoiselle Chateauneuf."—Desportes, the Tibullus of the sixteenth century, celebrates her charms in many of his sonnets addressed to her under the name of the Duke of Anjou. After Henry the IIId's return from Poland, he designed to have married her to the Count de Brienne, but that nobleman quitted France to avoid the marriage. She became soon after the wife of a Florentine named Altoviti, whom she killed with her own hand, but it does not appear that she was punished or even prosecuted for this crime. Her second husband was Philip Altoviti Baron de Castelane, who was put to death in 1586, by Henry d' Angoulesme, natural son to Henry the IId. His widow died in great obscurity some years afterwards." *Wraxall's History of France under the Kings of the Race of Valois*, vol. ii. 207, 208.

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ed this anecdote in his history of this great Monarch, and adds, that on the Queen's pressing him to make some amorous overture, "Madame," he said, "il n'y a point "ici d' ouverture pour moi;" and broke up the conversation.

There was not indeed any means so base or criminal that this Princess did not employ, provided they led to the accomplishment of her wishes, or tended to the end she had in view.—Charles the IXth told the Count de Clinchamp that there was not a person of ten thousand livres a year within the Kingdom with whom she had not a spy.—Perhaps, her victims by poison have been multiplied.—It may be yet a question if the eldest of her brothers-in-law, the second of her sons, the Queen Mother of Navarre, and the Marshal de Bellegarde fell by her perfidious machinations; but it is impossible to doubt that she often called to her assistance this abominable art of the "Pharmacy of Traitors."—Master René the Milanese and Perfumer to the Court was one of the first of men for conveying the most subtle and mortal preparation into the essence of a rose, or a jelly; and as notorious as the ancient matron Locusta (*e*), the accomplished female

(*e*) "Agrippina, sceleris olim certa, et oblatæ occasionis propera, nec ministrorum egens, de genere veneni consultavit: ne repentino et præcipiti facinus proderetur. Exquisitum aliquid placebat, quod turbaret mentem, et mortem differret. Deligitur ARTIFEX TALIUM Vocabulo Locusta, nuper veneficii damnata et diu INTER INSTRUMENTA REGNI HABITA." (*Tacit. Ann. lib.* 12, 66.)—Suetonius mentions this respectable Matron (*Nero. c.* 33.), and an old Scholiast observes on a

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female in this honourable department under Agrippina and Nero.

On the subject of Catherine's religion what is to be said ?—Her letter to the Pope is a substantial proof that bigotry and fanaticism had not any share in the catalogue of her crimes. In all the sanguinary conflicts the lower classes of people entered into them on conscientious principles, and from a conviction of the purity of their respective modes of faith, but religion served as a pretext for the great and more particularly for Catherine.—On a false report of a decisive battle being gained by the Huguenots, Catherine said without concern "Eh bien! nous "prierons Dieu en Français."—But in the existence of the Deity, to whom she supposed she was afterwards to pray in French, did she herself believe?—There is almost reason to imagine she was an atheist, and what is worse an atheist on principle, and if she was an atheist on principle she ought not to have been suffered to have lived an hour.—The belief of an invisible coercive Power, a Sovereign Governor of all things is absolutely necessary for Kings, even if useless for their subjects. Were the world to be governed by atheists, where could its inhabitants fly for safety ?—Caves and deserts, the centre of the

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passage of Juvenal (*Satyr.* 1. 71.) "Locustam ex Galliis Matronam veneficam a Nerone accitam fuisse, quoniam MAGNÆ FAMÆ ERAT, et Principi ita acceptam, UT ETIAM EUM DOCERET VENENUM MISCERE."

the earth would not afford a single place of security, and death itself would be the only asylum where the oppressor and the oppressed could rest together!—"Holy and "sublime idea of Eternal Providence," in the words of Mons[r.] Thomas, "fill and influence the hearts of Kings, "and those of the Princes that are one day to become "Kings, and for the sake of the whole race of Mankind, "let them be RELIGIOUS that they may be JUST and "MERCIFUL (*a*)!"

It was not from motives of hypocrisy, but to ridicule the reformed Religion that Catherine learned many scriptural phrases, which she called consistorial; such as "the "Counsel of Gamaliel"—"How beautiful are the feet of "them that bring good tidings"—"the Lord's Anointed" "—the Image of the Living God,"—and that she often made use of the expressions of "I call the Eternal to wit-"ness"—"God be the judge between thee and me."—This language was termed by the Ladies of the Court "THE "LANGUAGE OF CANAAN," and was the amusement and ridicule of the evening in the Queen's bed-chamber when she retired to rest (*b*).—Ah! Catherine, was it not sufficient without these insults to assassinate the POOR HUGUENOTS?—was not the cruelty, without mockery, complete,

(*a*) "Sainte et sublime idee de Dieu, remplis l'ame des Rois, ou de ceux qui doivent le devenir; et pour le bonheur de l'humanité, fais, qu'ils soient religieux afin qu'ils soient justes!" *Eloge de Dauphin*, *Tom.* 4. 229, 230.

(*b*) *Histoire Universelle du Sieur D'Aubigne*, *tom.* 2. *liv.* 4. 978. *Fol.* 1626.

plete, in the instant of the most perfidious caresses to plunge a dagger into their innocent and unsuspecting bosoms?

Catherine de' Medici's countrymen, who to a great knowledge of commerce joined an insatiable avarice, were placed by her at the head of the finances.—The principal employments were filled for half a century by Florentines, and they rendered their country odious on this side of the Alpes.—France, oppressed by their extortions, adopted the Roman proverb, that to make a Genoese seven Jews were necessary, and seven Genoese to make a Florentine.—Such national injuries are beneath the notice of men of worth in every country, but a correct history of the exactions of these harpies, in which all the refinements of rapacity were placed in their true light, would be curious though disgusting.—Many other Italians were, however, concerned in the pillage, though Tuscany was the general birth-place of these vipers, who did not fail to fasten also on the mother, from whose bowels they had sprung.

The honour of having patronised and promoted the arts and sciences is strictly Catherine's due, and she both employed the ablest artists, and rewarded them magnificently.—Architecture was in particular her favourite pursuit. Vast buildings were begun by her orders, though none of them were finished during her life, from

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the plans being too extensive, the funds for them not equivalent, or from some superstitious notions, that the day on which they were completed would be her last, and that she might defer the fatal end of all her greatness by the protraction of her different enterprises.

"Il Governo Nuovo," or the palace of the Governor of Rome, had formerly the name of "Palazzo Madama," and Catherine de' Medici both built it from a design of Paolo Marucelli, and resided in it before her marriage.—It belonged afterwards for a long time to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

The magnificent houses of St. Maur and Chenonceaux are monuments of her taste, as well as the ornaments of France; and that of Monceaux may be added to them, where Henry the IVth withdrew from the toils of state and his noble labours, to solace himself with the beautiful Gabriel d' Etrées.

Catherine de' Medici, having demolished the Palace des Tournelles, constructed that of the Tuilleries, for which Paris is indebted to the architect De Lorme. This famous artist has left a manuscript declaring that the Queen herself had arranged the distribution of the apartments and the elevation of the edifice, and that he had been only concerned in the external decorations.—He has been suspected, notwithstanding, of having employed

ed this artifice to exculpate himself from the censures cast on him for the first of these objects, which is very faulty, whilst the architecture and the exterior ornaments are irreproachable.—The succeeding French Monarchs have enlarged this palace, at the expence both of regularity and its appearance, yet after the Louvre and the Luxemburg it is the first palace in Paris.

Catherine built likewise the Hotel de Soissons, which was pulled down a few years ago, though the famous Column, like Trajan's Pillar, erected in the court, has been carefully preserved.—It is the only one indeed in France, and its height and diameter are both considerable.—On some parts of it there are crowns and trophies still visible with the letters H and C interwoven, broken mirrors, and other figures denoting widowhood.—In the inside of the column there is a stair-case that leads to the Armillary Sphere at the top of the column, which Catherine used to visit, in order to consult the stars.—Gresset, one of the most amiable of the French Poets, proposed to substitute the statue of Louis the XVth for this Armillary Sphere—Piron his brother Poet shook his head, and differed from him in rhyme:

"La Colonne de Médicis,
Est odieuse à notre histoire;
Pour en effacer la mémoire,
On ne doit pas être indécis.